

# APATANI GRAMMAR

CENTRAL INSTITUTE OF INDIAN LANGUAGES

GRAMMAR SERIES— 12

*Editor*

E. ANNAMALAI

*Production*

H. L. N. BHARATI

*CIIL Grammar Series—12*

# APATANI GRAMMAR

P. T. ABRAHAM



CENTRAL INSTITUTE OF INDIAN LANGUAGES  
Manasagangotri, Mysore-570 006

First Published :        *June 1985*  
                              *Ashadha 1907*

© *Central Institute of Indian Languages, 1985*

MAX. RETAIL PRICE  
**Pri**  
INCL OF ALL TAXES

Published at the Central Institute of Indian Languages,  
Manasagangotri, Mysore-570 006. by D. P. Pattanayak,  
Director. Printed at the CIIL Printing Press by  
M. G. Kanakram, Asst. Director (Admn.)



## FOREWORD

The Central Institute of Indian Languages set up in 1969 is entrusted with the responsibility of developing Indian languages through research training and material production. The Indian languages are at various stages of development from the point of view of the extent of elaboration of their functions and they require different treatments. Development of the tribal languages of the country involves many issues of policy, implementation and academic contribution. Some of them are to be reduced to writing and most of them need codification from the point of view of standardisation, preparation of grammar, dictionary and such other linguistic materials and production of written literature.

One of the primary activities of the Institute relating to its work on tribal languages is writing a grammar. The grammar is not only the first step in the direction of codification of the language but also is a basic material for the teaching and learning of the language. It also provides materials for the typological and areal comparisons for languages and for studies of language universals. The theoretical notions

about grammar have changed substantially in the recent decades and many of the notions are to be tested with data from various little known languages. It is hoped that the grammar series of the Institute will fulfil at least partially these demands from linguists and language planners.

The grammars of various tribal languages, it is hoped, will lead to a handbook of Indian languages, which will be of great use to the students of linguistics in India. India has a long grammatical tradition and it is now absorbing the grammatical models developed in the West. It will be a worthy goal to achieve to develop a grammatical model for the description of Indian languages derived out of both traditional and modern developments.

  
(E. ANNAMALAI)  
Director

## PREFACE

The tribal people in India have for long lived in isolation except to be exposed for exploitation. They have not participated to their benefit in the socioeconomic development of the country. To come out of their isolation, it is necessary for them to learn the language of the majority people around them and a number of them have done so. But this bridges the communication gap only in one way and the whole burden of building up this bridge is carried by the minority group. It is necessary, however, for developing mutual understanding and good-will, to increase bidirectional communication between the tribal people and the majority of people of the region. For this purpose, the majority people, especially those who come in contact with the tribal people for various reasons such as civil administration, security, social service, trade, etc., should learn their language. The Grammar, which forms part of the package consisting of phonetic reader, bi- or trilingual dictionary and teaching manual is prepared to help them in their learning of the tribal language.

The organisation of the Grammar is based on grammatical functions rather than on grammatical forms. This will help the new learner to find easily how the different functions, which he already knows and wants to express, are formalised in this language. Since this Grammar is primarily meant for pedagogical purposes, theoretical discussions and justifications for a particular analysis are kept to a minimum. The Grammar is divided generally into two broad categories of noun morphology and verb morphology. A description of adjectives precedes verb morphology and that of adverbs follows it. The chapter on syntax describes the order of the constituents at the surface level.

Though the Grammar is primarily aimed at the language learner and the teacher, it is hoped that it will also be useful to Linguists interested in typology and universals.

Data for the Grammar were collected in the field primarily from two informants by elicitation through word and sentence lists. They were then cross-checked with some other informants. The description may not be exhaustive and there might be gaps. There might be possibilities for

alternative analyses. Comments and suggestions passed on to us will be useful to improve our future publication in this series.

**E. Annamalai**

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My thanks are due to many who contributed in many ways to the present work. I am much grateful to my informants Messrs. Khoda Gyati and Tatu Tayung and other Apatani friends Messrs Hage Tadde, Tasso Sai, Dani Duri, Michi Tagia, Kago Chanda, Hage Tatum, Hage Tatum and Nani Challa who were very helpful during the collection of Apatani materials for this study.

I am thankful to Mr. Syiem, then Deputy Commissioner, Ziro; Mr. Hussain, then ADC, Ziro; Mr. K. Kumar, then District Research Officer, Ziro; and Mr. R. R. Singh, then Headmaster of Government High School, Ziro; who extended full co-operation during my field work in Apatani plateau. I am deeply indebted to Messrs. K. Unnikrishnan, K. M. Kathukutty, Krishna Kurup, R.C. Menon and V.C. Varghese, who helped me in many ways during my stay in Arunachal.

I am profoundly thankful to Dr. D. P. Pattanayak, the then Director, for the encouragement and overall guidance of the present work. I am much grateful to Dr. E. Annamalai, Director, CIIL, who has gone through the present study and

suggested many modifications for improvement. My thanks are due to Dr. K.S. Gurubasave Gowda, Reader-cum-Research Officer, CIIL, and other colleagues of mine for their help.

I am grateful to Mr. N.H. Itagi, for drawing the map of the Apatani area included in this work. My thanks are due to the members of the administrative staff of the CIIL for their help and to Mr. C.S. Giri, for typing the manuscript. I am grateful to Mr. H.L.N. Bharati, Assistant Editor and Mr. M.G. Kanakram, Assistant Director (Admn.) and Incharge Press, for seeing it through the Press and the staff of CIIL Press for executing the printing.

I am thankful to Mr. V. Gopal, who type-composed the manuscript neatly.

-- P. T. Abraham

## ABBREVIATIONS

|       |     |               |
|-------|-----|---------------|
| abl.  | ... | ablative      |
| acc.  | ... | accusative    |
| adv.  | ... | adverb        |
| asp.  | ... | aspect        |
| cau.  | ... | cause         |
| cer.  | ... | certainty     |
| cond. | ... | conditional   |
| dat.  | ... | dative        |
| det.  | ... | determiner    |
| f.t.  | ... | future tense  |
| gen.  | ... | genitive      |
| imp.  | ... | imperative    |
| inf.  | ... | infinitive    |
| inst. | ... | instrumental  |
| int.  | ... | interrogative |
| loc.  | ... | locative      |
| m.    | ... | mood          |
| mod.  | ... | modal         |
| neg.  | ... | negative      |
| nom.  | ... | nominalizer   |
| per.  | ... | perfect       |
| pl.   | ... | plural        |
| pos.  | ... | possessive    |
| p.p.  | ... | post position |



|       |     |               |
|-------|-----|---------------|
| pro.  | ... | prohibitive   |
| p.t.  | ... | past tense    |
| pur.  | ... | purposive     |
| que.  | ... | question      |
| quot. | ... | quotative     |
| soc.  | ... | sociative     |
| temp. | ... | temporal      |
| v.p.  | ... | verb particle |

## CONTENTS

|                          |     |      |
|--------------------------|-----|------|
| Foreword                 | ... | i    |
| Preface                  | ... | iii  |
| Acknowledgements         | ... | vi   |
| Abbreviations            | ... | viii |
| INTRODUCTION             | ... | 1    |
| PHONOLOGY                | ... | 5    |
| An Inventory of Phonemes | ... | 5    |
| Distribution of Phonemes | ... | 16   |
| Syllable                 | ... | 21   |
| MORPHOLOGY               | ... | 23   |
| Noun                     | ... | 24   |
| Pronoun                  | ... | 27   |
| Deixis                   | ... | 31   |
| Case System              | ... | 35   |
| Numeral                  | ... | 54   |
| Classifiers              | ... | 60   |
| Adjectives               | ... | 66   |
| Verb                     | ... | 67   |
| Verb Particle            | ... | 73   |
| Tense                    | ... | 92   |
| Aspect                   | ... | 94   |
| Mood                     | ... | 97   |
| Adverb                   | ... | 109  |
| Word Formation           | ... | 116  |

|                      |     |     |     |
|----------------------|-----|-----|-----|
| SYNTAX               | ... | ... | 121 |
| Noun Phrase          |     | ... | 124 |
| Verb Phrase          |     | ... | 125 |
| Conjunction          |     | ... | 127 |
| Embedding            |     | ... | 130 |
| Nominalization       |     | ... | 134 |
| Purposive Clause     |     | ... | 134 |
| Comparative          |     | ... | 135 |
| Conditional          |     | ... | 137 |
| Concessive           |     | ... | 137 |
| Causal               |     | ... | 138 |
| Adverbial            |     | ... | 139 |
| Passive              |     | ... | 139 |
| Reported Speech      |     | ... | 140 |
| APPENDIX             | ... | ... | 142 |
| Proper Names         |     | ... | 142 |
| Measurements         |     | ... | 143 |
| Time Unit            |     | ... | 145 |
| Grammatical Elements |     | ... | 145 |
| Folk Tales           |     | ... | 158 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY         | ... | ... | 185 |



## INTRODUCTION

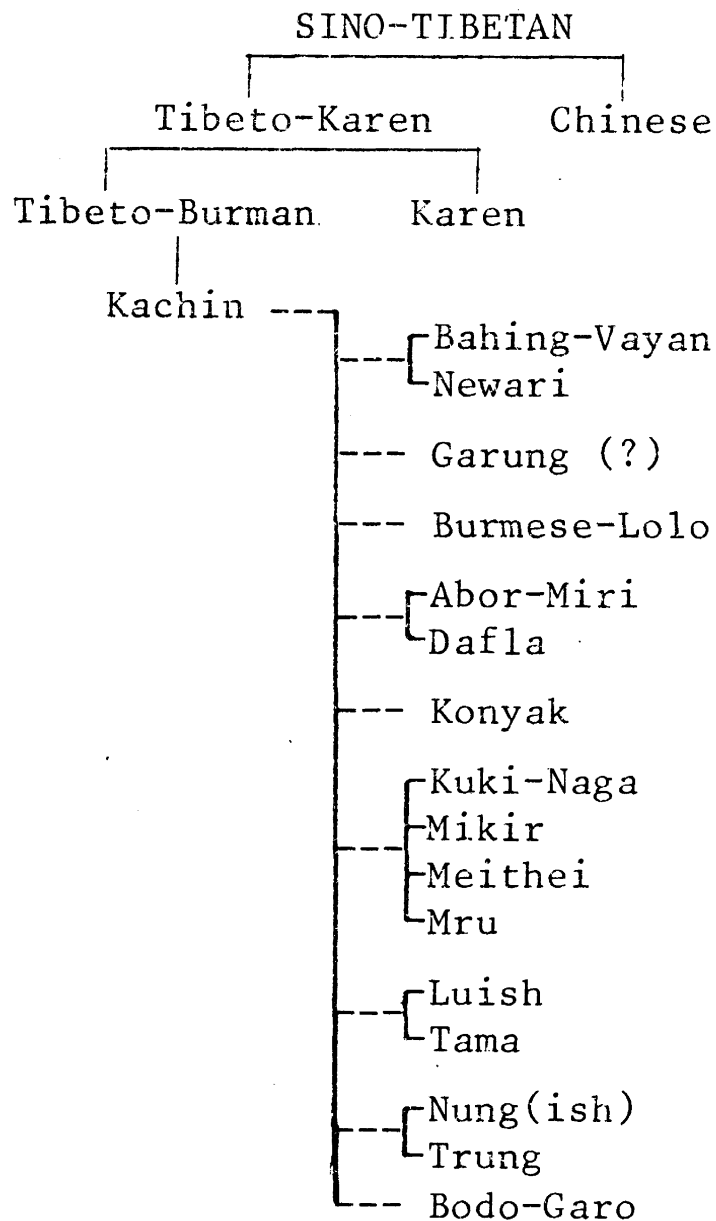
Tibeto-Burman is one among the four language families of India. The other three are Indo-Aryan, Dravidian and Austro-Asiatic. Grierson observes that Tibeto-Burman languages stand out as a distinct family as compared with Tai and Chinese (Grierson, 1966, p.5). Tai and Chinese follow the subject-verb-object order whereas Tibeto-Burman languages use subject-object-verb order. The Tibeto-Burman languages are rich in certain areas of vocabulary. For instance, distinct words are found for different kinds of rat, bamboo, basket, etc. in Apatani. There is no grammatical gender. Grammatical categories like case, number, etc., are expressed by free words added after the noun rather than by bound morphemes suffixed to the noun. They are thus like adjectives and follow the head noun.

Grierson classifies the Abor-Miri and Dafla in North Assam group. "The Abor-Miris and Daflas speak dialects which are so closely related that they can justly be considered as one and the same speech form (Grierson, 1966, p.568). The names Abor, Miri, and Dafla are names used by

## 2/INTRODUCTION

Assamese for the tribe which inhabits the mountains between the Assam valley and Tibet. Daflas call themselves nyi-sing, i.e., sing men" (Ibid, 585). There is a group of Daflas who call themselves Bagni (Ibid, 585). The Apatanis are closely related to Nyi-sing.

Benedict (1972) gives the following schematic chart for Sino-Tibetan languages.



Apatanis belong to the Abor-Miri-Dafla group. It is closely related to Dafla who call themselves Nishi. Similarities are noticed at phonological, grammatical and lexical level (See, Nishi Grammar - forthcoming). Apatanis are concentrated in South Central region of Subansiri district of Arunachal Pradesh (See, the map). Nishis are their immediate neighbours. The area is known as Apatani plateau and is about 26 sq.km. It is surrounded by steep mountain ridges on all sides. The district headquarters is located in this plateau. According to a legend prevalent among them, the plateau was a lake prior to their inhabitation. Their population is 12888 (M: 5746, F: 6342) (1971 Census). Out of 12888 persons there are only 724 literate persons. The sexwise break up is M: 724, F: 76. The capital of the Union Territory of Arunachal Pradesh is also located in Subansiri district. Mr. Simon's "Apatani - An Introduction" is the only book available on the language.

The materials for the present work were collected during my field work in Apatani plateau, during October-December, 1975 and April-June 1977. Messrs Khoda Gyati (Reru village) and Tatu Tayung (Mudan Tage village) were my principal

#### 4/INTRODUCTION

informants. Mr. Gyati was a student of the Government High School, Ziro. He was working as a part-time employee at the Electrical Office in Old Ziro. His exact age is not known. He was staying in his village with his family members. Mr. Tayung was also a student of the Government High School, Ziro. He was the Secretary of the Apatani Youth Association. His exact age also is not known. I have discussed certain problems covered in the present study with Messrs Hage Tadde (Cycleshop owner), Tasso Sai, Dani Duri (Medical student), Michi Tagia, Kago Chanda, Hage Tatum, Hage Tatung and Nani Challa (School Teacher).

- - - -



## PHONOLOGY

### An Inventory of Phonemes

There are 3 tonemes, 6 vowels and 17 consonants in Apatani.

#### Tonemes:

|              |     |            |
|--------------|-----|------------|
| Rising tone  | ... | '/'        |
| Level, tone  | ... | 'unmarked' |
| Falling tone | ... | '\'        |

#### Rising Tone:

The pitch level varies in such a way that at the onset it is higher than at coda.

|       |                    |
|-------|--------------------|
| cómyo | 'silence'          |
| húdo  | 'lightening'       |
| ado'  | 'stem with flower' |
| kamo' | 'dark'             |

#### Level Tone:

There is no change in pitch level.

|      |          |
|------|----------|
| amu  | 'hair'   |
| alyo | 'tongue' |
| pota | 'paper'  |
| ude  | 'house'  |

#### Falling Tone:

The pitch level varies in such a way that at the onset it is lower than at the coda.

## 6/PHONOLOGY

|      |           |
|------|-----------|
| ùkò  | 'veranda' |
| ubu  | 'hole'    |
| pakà | 'pitch'   |
| tàno | 'yarn'    |

### Toneme Contrast:

|      |                       |
|------|-----------------------|
| i'   | 'copulate'            |
| in   | 'go'                  |
| i    | 'interjection'        |
| e'   | 'laugh at'            |
| e    | 'shoot'               |
| e    | 'interjection'        |
| ámi  | 'cat'                 |
| ami  | 'eye'                 |
| àmi  | 'tail'                |
| ado' | 'stem with flower'    |
| ado  | 'coming'              |
| ado  | 'far away'            |
| a'   | 'interjection'        |
| a    | 'come'                |
| a    | 'okay'                |
| o'   | 'work in paddy field' |
| o    | 'bear'                |
| o    | 'child'               |
| aju' | 'soak'                |
| aju  | 'weak'                |
| aju  | 'figure'              |

Vowels:

|   |   |   |
|---|---|---|
| i | ɪ | u |
| e |   | o |
|   | a |   |

Vowel Contrasts:

|    |                          |
|----|--------------------------|
| i' | 'copulate'               |
| e' | 'laugh at'               |
| a  | 'come'                   |
| o  | 'beer'                   |
| u  | 'mend a hole'            |
| ɪ  | 'interjection'           |
| ti | 'pour'                   |
| te | 'touch'                  |
| ta | 'drink'                  |
| to | 'go down'                |
| tu | 'kick'                   |
| tɪ | 'collide'                |
| mi | 'someone'                |
| me | 'search'                 |
| ma | 'no'                     |
| mo | 'he/she'                 |
| mu | 'blow'                   |
| mɪ | 'do'                     |
| gi | 'lie down'               |
| ge | 'catch insects with gum' |
| ga | 'abuse'                  |

## 8/PHONOLOGY

|    |               |
|----|---------------|
| go | 'fly'         |
| gu | 'crawl'       |
| gi | 'wear'        |
| si | 'this'        |
| se | 'drag'        |
| sa | 'grow'        |
| so | 'crack jokes' |
| su | 'draw'        |
| si | 'cattle'      |

/i/ is high front unrounded vowel.

|       |         |
|-------|---------|
| xigi  | 'devil' |
| pinin | 'slap'  |
| ami   | 'cat'   |

/e/ is higher mid front unrounded vowel.

|       |                       |
|-------|-----------------------|
| ere   | 'stomach'             |
| cenin | 'cut (with scissors)' |
| jije  | 'true'                |

/e/ is realized as lower mid front unrounded vowel [ɛ] when it occurs in the first syllable of a word after [y].

|       |         |
|-------|---------|
| yɛso  | 'cane'  |
| yɛsi  | 'water' |
| yɛtan | 'bread' |

/a/ is low central unrounded vowel.

|     |            |
|-----|------------|
| agu | 'language' |
|-----|------------|

|      |          |
|------|----------|
| kamo | 'dark'   |
| aba  | 'father' |

/a/ is realized low front unrounded vowel [a] in the first syllable of a word after [y].

|                   |                                 |
|-------------------|---------------------------------|
| yati <sub>n</sub> | 'box (used for keeping cloths)' |
| yati              | 'umbrella (traditional)'        |
| yaju              | 'laddle'                        |

/i/ is high central unrounded vowel.

|                   |            |
|-------------------|------------|
| imy <sub>o</sub>  | 'poison'   |
| iby <sub>o</sub>  | 'also'     |
| iney <sub>o</sub> | 'okay'     |
| mido              | 'rain'     |
| siti              | 'elephant' |

/i/ is realized as mid central vowel [ə] before [r] and in word final position when [r] precedes it.

|        |             |
|--------|-------------|
| kakər  | 'look back' |
| harkər | 'run back'  |
| tarə   | 'ant'       |
| tirə   | 'forehead'  |

/i/ is realized as high back unrounded vowel [ü] in the word final position and before word final [n].

|       |            |
|-------|------------|
| nyimü | 'girl'     |
| sitü  | 'elephant' |

## 10/PHONOLOGY

|       |             |
|-------|-------------|
| yahü  | 'axe'       |
| panün | 'dismantle' |
| kanün | 'see'       |

The /i/-ending words drop their final vowel when they are added to consonant initial words/morphemes.

|             |   |         |                 |
|-------------|---|---------|-----------------|
| ini + nani  | - | innani  | 'walking stick' |
| cini + nani | - | cinnani | 'loom'          |
| ami + sani  | - | amsani  | 'mango tree'    |

/u/ is high back rounded vowel.

|      |          |
|------|----------|
| ude  | 'house'  |
| rupu | 'gold'   |
| uru  | 'family' |

/o/ is higher mid back rounded vowel.

|      |           |
|------|-----------|
| oho  | 'boy'     |
| kone | 'one'     |
| aro  | 'morning' |

### Consonants:

|    |    |     |
|----|----|-----|
| pb | td | kg  |
|    | cj |     |
| m  | n  | ñ   |
|    | r  |     |
|    | l  |     |
|    | s  | x h |
|    | y  |     |

Consonant Contrasts:

|      |                        |
|------|------------------------|
| pa   | 'cut'                  |
| pya  | 'dismantle'            |
| ba   | 'vomit'                |
| bya  | 'burn (meat, etc.)'    |
| ta   | 'drink'                |
| da   | 'beat'                 |
| ca   | 'climb'                |
| ja   | 'throw (flat objects)' |
| ka   | 'see'                  |
| ga   | 'abuse'                |
| gya  | 'roam'                 |
| ma   | 'curly growth'         |
| mya  | 'lull'                 |
| na   | 'push'                 |
| nya  | 'point out'            |
| ña   | 'laugh'                |
| ra   | 'make bundle'          |
| la   | 'take'                 |
| lya  | 'burn'                 |
| sa   | 'grow'                 |
| ya   | 'burn'                 |
| ha'  | 'hang up'              |
| xa   | 'gossip'               |
| apa  | 'leave (some objects)' |
| apya | 'group of rats'        |

## 12/PHONOLOGY

|      |                          |
|------|--------------------------|
| aba  | 'father'                 |
| abya | 'ladder'                 |
| ata  | 'elder sister'           |
| ada  | 'tomorrow'               |
| aca  | 'keep (above something)' |
| aja  | 'name of a girl'         |
| aka  | 'name of a boy'          |
| axa  | 'old'                    |
| aga  | 'quick'                  |
| agya | 'gate'                   |
| aha  | 'soul'                   |
| asa  | 'let us come'            |
| ama  | 'does not/do not come'   |
| ana  | 'very much essential'    |
| aña  | 'tie (after covering)'   |
| amya | 'penis'                  |
| arya | 'name of a girl'         |
| ala  | 'hand'                   |
| alya | 'lick'                   |
| ara  | 'empty'                  |
| aya  | 'good'                   |

Since there is no contrast between the palatalized consonants like  $p^y$ ,  $b^y$ ,  $g^y$ ,  $n^y$ ,  $m^y$ ,  $l^y$  and their cluster counterparts (i.e., phonemic sequences, like  $py$ ,  $by$ ,  $gy$ ,  $ny$ ,  $my$ ,  $ly$ ) the palatalised consonants are treated as sequences



at the phonemic level. This is done to simplify the orthography.

/p/ is voiceless bilabial stop.

|      |       |
|------|-------|
| papu | 'egg' |
| pepu | 'mat' |

/b/ is voiced bilabial stop.

|      |         |
|------|---------|
| buko | 'rat'   |
| béni | 'curse' |

/b/ is realized as semi-voiced bilateral continuant [b̥] when it occurs intervocalically, provided the following one is a back/central vowel.

|       |           |
|-------|-----------|
| aba   | 'father'  |
| abuje | 'various' |

/t/ is voiceless alveolar stop.

|      |         |
|------|---------|
| tami | 'grass' |
| itu  | 'short' |

/d/ is voiced alveolar stop.

|       |         |
|-------|---------|
| danyi | 'sun'   |
| ude   | 'house' |

/k/ is voiceless velar stop.

|      |           |
|------|-----------|
| kamo | 'dark'    |
| muku | 'tobacco' |

## 14/PHONOLOGY

/g/ is voiced velar stop.

garu 'pillow'

aguñ 'mouth'

/c/ is voiceless affricate.

ciku 'pocket'

dacañ 'iron'

/j/ is voiced affricate.

jije 'true'

jiji 'blue'

/m/ is voiced bilabial nasal.

ma 'no'

tamo 'strong'

bom 'bomb'

/n/ is voiced alveolar nasal.

nago 'place of worship'

anu 'younger brother'

/n/ is realized as palatal nasal [ɲ] before  
palatal stops [c] and [j].

goñci 'dragon fly'

geñji 'banian'

/ɲ/ is voiced velar nasal.

ño 'I'

hiñini 'third'

/ɲ/ is realized through the nasalization of the  
preceding vowel when it occurs in the word final

position.

/adiṇ/ is realized as adi<sup>ṽ</sup>

/aguṇ/ is realized as agũ

/ṇ/ is realized as the homorganic nasal of the following stop when it is combined with words/ morphemes having initial stops.

anyiṇ + pyuṇi ---> anyimpyuṇi 'milkman'

/r/ is voiced alveolar flap.

rubu 'ear drum'

yaru 'ear'

sucur 'antelope'

/l/ is alveolar lateral

laci 'finger'

ale 'wing'

botel 'bottle'

/s/ is alveolar fricative.

si 'cattle'

pasu 'needle'

opis 'office'

/x/ is voiceless velar fricative.

xido 'be costly'

axa 'old'

/h/ is glottal fricative.

hena 'wrong'

ahi 'tooth'

## 16/PHONOLOGY

/y/ is palatal continuant.

|      |                    |
|------|--------------------|
| yati | 'umbrella (local)' |
| aya  | 'good'             |

### Distribution of Phonemes

#### Vowels:

All vowels occur in initial, medial and final positions of a word.

|       |                                       |
|-------|---------------------------------------|
| imi   | 'sleep'                               |
| biro  | 'yesterday morning'                   |
| é`e`  | 'stomach'                             |
| nekañ | 'toilet'                              |
| ù`ú`  | 'cooking place'                       |
| duku  | 'wooden box'                          |
| ipini | 'sweeper'                             |
| aya   | 'good'                                |
| dànyi | 'sun'                                 |
| omo   | 'term used to address<br>young males' |
| dóne  | 'bright day'                          |

#### Vowel Clusters:

Few vowel clusters are found in Apatani. They occur word initially, medially and word finally.

|      |                  |
|------|------------------|
| ui   | 'ghost'          |
| òasi | 'great grandson' |

|        |   |
|--------|---|
| ai     | 'tooth'   |
| au     | 'tail like object used<br>to wear on the waist of<br>elderly men' |
| bua    | 'rope tied to acrobatic<br>pole'                                  |
| lua    | 'mute'  |
| lia    | 'bag used by women'   |
| loepa  | 'till'  |
| hao    | 'above'   |
| hoan   | 'spine'   |
| hoenin | 'becon'   |

#### Consonants:

All consonants occur in initial and medial positions of a word. m, n, r, l and s occur word final position also.

|       |   |
|-------|---|
| paka  | 'dish'  |
| papu  | 'egg'   |
| babo  | 'acrobatic pole'                                |
| tabu  | 'snake'   |
| ato   | 'owner'   |
| danyi | 'sun'   |
| adan  | 'spear made of wood<br>with poisoned iron edge' |
| kami  | 'late'  |
| aki   | 'dog'   |
| gubú  | 'hot'   |

# 18/PHONOLOGY

|       |  |
|-------|--|
| agar  | 'boundary'                             |
| cuxa  | 'basket (used for<br>keeping tobacco)' |
| àci   | 'pain'                                 |
| jin   | 'piece of cloth'                       |
| àjan  | 'child'                                |
| migo  | 'oven'                                 |
| ami   | 'tail'                                 |
| bom   | 'bomb'                                 |
| nekan | 'latrine'                              |
| ànjja | 'great grandmother'                    |
| ni    | 'fish'                                 |
| ini   | 'sweet potato'                         |
| ajan  | 'child'                                |
| rido  | 'line on palm'                         |
| àrán  | 'bottom of a tree'                     |
| sucur | 'antelope'                             |
| lacañ | 'ring'                                 |
| àlo   | 'day'                                  |
| botel | 'bottle'                               |
| same  | 'squirrel'                             |
| asàn  | 'north'                                |
| opis  | 'office'                               |
| xi    | 'six'                                  |
| axi   | 'comb'                                 |
| hago  | 'merry'                                |

|      |             |
|------|-------------|
| àha  | 'heart'     |
| yapa | 'young man' |
| aya` | 'muscle'    |

### Consonant Clusters:

There are two consonants and three consonants clusters in Apatani. Two consonants clusters are common. As mentioned early, the palatalized stops and nasals that are treated as sequences orthographically are also included below:

|          |                                  |
|----------|----------------------------------|
| pyarmo   | 'leaves put on the arrow'        |
| byibu    | 'gun'                            |
| abya     | 'ladder'                         |
| dyimpu   | 'grey hair'                      |
| gyúti    | 'higher group among Apatanis'    |
| myódu    | 'season'                         |
| àmya     | 'penis'                          |
| nyimo    | 'face'                           |
| anyin    | 'breast'                         |
| lyenin   | 'to make to the shape of ball'   |
| alyan    | 'ten'                            |
| akókónti | 'lonely'                         |
| ágo èmpu | 'front portion of Apatani house' |
| dinxu    | 'skull'                          |

## 20/PHONOLOGY

|           |                 |
|-----------|-----------------|
| endi      | 'paddy'         |
| empya     | 'cotton'        |
| embiñ     | 'uncooked rice' |
| gũnkiniñ  | 'stoop'         |
| gonci     | 'dragon fly'    |
| genji     | 'banian'        |
| tóngó'    | 'wool'          |
| nénkepílo | 'December'      |
| iñgye`    | 'twin'          |
| arpuho    | 'amidst'        |
| karpya    | 'unroll'        |
| gòrbáñ    | 'shoulder'      |
| artiñ     | 'testicle'      |
| arda      | 'tomorrow'      |
| ñarka     | 'smile'         |
| dorgi     | 'earthworm'     |
| gòrxáñ    | 'armpit'        |
| armi      | 'ripe'          |
| tarji     | 'scorpion'      |
| ñarniñ    | 'laugh'         |
| tarsi     | 'wall'          |
| tarla     | 'cup'           |

The cluster /ny/ is realized as palatal nasal [ɲ] before central vowels.

|      |           |
|------|-----------|
| ñácu | 'lip'     |
| ñátu | 'dragger' |



ñányo

'honey bee'

Germinated clusters are not found in Apatani. Only the palatalised phonemes occur in word initial and medial positions. Others occur only in medial position.

### Syllable

A sequence of phonemes with one peak of sonority is treated as a syllable. There can be one or more than one syllables in a single word. Usually one vowel will function as nucleus of a syllable. The preceding consonants/semi-vowels are called the onset of the syllable and the following consonants/semi-vowels are called coda of the syllable. There are words without onset and coda. When a syllable ends with a vowel, it is called an open syllable and when it ends in a consonant, it is called a closed syllable. The syllable pattern of Apatani is exemplified in the following:

#### Monosyllabic Words:

Monosyllabic words are very common in Apatani.

Open syllable : (c)v

|   |   |        |
|---|---|--------|
| v | a | 'come' |
|---|---|--------|

|    |    |      |
|----|----|------|
| cv | ma | 'no' |
|----|----|------|

## 22/PHONOLOGY

cv      si      'this'

Closed syllable : (c)vc

vc      in̩      'go'

cvc      koŋ      'one'

cvc      hiŋ      'three'

### Disyllabic Words:

vcv      ude      'house'

cvcv      ki̯le      'river'

cvccv      pinta      'pot'

cvcvc      botel      'bottle'

vcvc      aguŋ      'language'

- - - -

## MORPHOLOGY

A word in Apatani is defined as minimum free form consisting of one or more than one phoneme. The phonetic pause between two items in an utterance is taken as the basis for determining the word boundaries. There are cases where syntactic behaviour is taken as the determining factor of the free forms when phonetic pause fails to give a correct indication in deciding bound Vs. free forms. The case is indicated through independent word. One of the reasons for considering it as independent word is that it takes the phrase final position when adjectives which follow the headnoun occur with it. See the examples given below:

|               |                    |
|---------------|--------------------|
| myu aya mi    | 'good man (acc.)'  |
| man good acc  |                    |
| aki atu mi    | 'small dog (acc.)' |
| dog small acc |                    |

Secondly, there is a tendency among the Apatani speakers to posit a semi-pause between the head-noun and case word. This also speaks in favour of considering them as separate words.

The word classes that can be set up in Apatani are nouns, pronouns, verb and adverbs. Among them verbs and nouns out number other word

classes. Suffixation, prefixation, reduplication and compounding are the morphological process found in Apatani.

### Noun

Any word whose occurrence, allows the use of a determiner/case word in the same construction is treated as a noun in the present description. Gender has no grammatical significance. There are certain nouns that are inherently masculine or feminine as exemplified below:

|        |                  |
|--------|------------------|
| milo   | 'husband'        |
| mihi   | 'wife'           |
| milobo | 'man'            |
| nyimi  | 'woman'          |
| yapa   | 'youth (male)'   |
| nyimi  | 'youth (female)' |
| hime   | 'boy'            |
| nyimi  | 'girl'           |

The regular pattern of gender marking is through the addition of suffix to the reduplicated syllable of the generic noun. The suffix 'po/bo' is added to the generic noun to indicate masculine gender and 'ni' is added to indicate feminine gender. A sample is given below:

|          |          |                   |
|----------|----------|-------------------|
| si       | 'cattle' |                   |
| sihibo   |          | 'bull'            |
| sihini   |          | 'cow'             |
| paro     | 'fowl'   |                   |
| paroropo |          | 'cock'            |
| paroroni |          | 'hen'             |
| subu     | 'mithun' |                   |
| subusido |          | 'mithun (male)'   |
| subusini |          | 'mithun (female)' |
| sibi     | 'monkey' |                   |
| sibibipo |          | 'monkey (male)'   |
| sibibini |          | 'monkey (female)' |

Instances are found where only the reduplicated syllable and the gender marker are used to specify the masculine feminine distinction leaving the first part (i.e., generic noun). See the illustrations below:

|      |       |           |
|------|-------|-----------|
| aki  | 'dog' |           |
| kibo |       | 'dog'     |
| kini |       | 'bitch'   |
| ami  | 'cat' |           |
| mipo |       | 'tom-cat' |
| mini |       | 'cat'     |

Another way of marking the gender is through compounding. The words - milobo 'man' and nyimi 'woman' are added to the generic nouns to

form compound. This technique is usually used with borrowed nouns as shown below:

ministar 'minister'

ministar milobo 'minister (male)'

ministar nyimi 'minister (female)'

gura 'horse'

gura milobo 'horse (male)'

gura nyimi 'horse (female)'

mendi 'buffalo'

mendi milobo 'he buffalo'

mendi nyimi 'she buffalo'

### Number

There are no plural markers in Apatani. Plurality, if the number is unspecific, is indicated using the plural word - atañ 'many'. When the number is specific, the numeral quantifiers are used. Both the numeral quantifier and the plural word follows the headnoun.

#### *Singular*

ude 'house'

nyimi 'girl'

aki 'dog'

#### *With plural word*

ude atañ 'houses'

nyimi atañ 'girls'

aki atañ 'dogs'

#### *Singular*

aki 'dog'

#### *With numeral quantifier*

aki anye

dog two

'two dogs'

mihi 'wife'                      mihi anye  
    wife two  
    'two wives'

When there is a reference to quantity like 'some', 'many', etc., then words like - abu 'many', tane 'some', etc., are used.

*Singular*

*Plural with specific  
 quantifiers*

tuli 'piller'                      tuli abu 'many pillers'  
 myu 'people'                      myu tane 'some people'

### Pronouns

There is no gender distinction in the pronominal system of Apatani. It makes two way distinction in number (i.e., singular and plural) and three-way distinction in person (i.e., First person, Second person and Third person). Further, a two-way categorization is made in third person on the basis of [visible, known] Vs. [invisible, unknown]. Separate pronouns are used to indicate this distinction. The pronouns are listed in the Table given below:

| Person | Number    |                  |
|--------|-----------|------------------|
|        | Singular  | Plural           |
| First  | no 'I'    | nunu 'we'        |
| Second | no' 'you' | nunu 'you (pl.)' |

(Contd...)

| Person | Number               |                      |
|--------|----------------------|----------------------|
|        | Singular             | Plural               |
| Third  | mo' 'he/she'         | mólu 'they'          |
|        | si 'he/she/it'       | síkílu 'they'        |
|        | [known, visible]     | [known, visible]     |
|        | hi 'he/she/it'       | híkílu 'they'        |
|        | [unknown, invisible] | [unknown, invisible] |

When the numeral - nyi 'two' occurs with singular pronouns, they function as single lexical item. This fusion is found only with the numeral - nyi 'two'.

|           |      |       |                      |
|-----------|------|-------|----------------------|
| no + nyi  | ---> | ninyi | 'we two'             |
| no' + nyi | ---> | ninyi | 'you two'            |
| mo' + nyi | ---> | mónyi | 'they two'           |
| si + nyi  | ---> | sinyi | 'they two'           |
|           |      |       | [known, visible]     |
| hi + nyi  | ---> | hinyi | 'they two'           |
|           |      |       | [unknown, invisible] |

It is also found possible to use the numeral alongwith the classifier - anyi 'two' with third person singular - mo 'he/she' like a regular numeral adjective.

|        |            |
|--------|------------|
| mo'    | anyi       |
| she/he | two        |
|        | 'they two' |



### Deictic Pronouns:

In Apatani a three-way division is found in spatial situation in identifying the relative spatial position of the referent in relation to the locus of the speaker. This is done through the deictic pronouns (See, Abraham, 1981). They are formed by compounding respective words to the third person pronoun - si 'she/he/it' (known, visible) as shown below:

|        |   |   |
|--------|---|---|
| siksi  | : | the pronoun indicates<br>proximity  |
| insi   | : | the pronoun indicates<br>intermediate distance                                |
| intosi | : | the pronoun indicates<br>that the referent is<br>far away from the<br>speaker |

Demonstratives are formed by adding the marker - 'ka' to 'si, in, into', which are used to form deictic pronouns also and to pronoun - hi 'he/she/it'. As a result they become attributes to the headnoun, but unlike other attributes, they precede the headnoun.

|             |                                    |
|-------------|------------------------------------|
| sika myu    | 'this man (proximate)'             |
| this man    |                                    |
| inka hime   | 'that boy (intermediate distance)' |
| that boy    |                                    |
| intoka pitu | 'that hill (very far)'             |
| that hill   |                                    |

hika nyimi 'that girl (unknown/invisible)'  
that girl

Plural counterparts of deictic pronouns are formed by adding the plural word - atañ or the numeral to the demonstratives.

sika hime anye 'these (two) boys (proximate)'  
this boy two

inka pulye atañ 'those clothes (inter-  
that cloth pl.-word mediate distance)'

It is possible to use forms like

sika anye 'these two'  
this two

inka atañ 'those (items)'  
that pl.-word

#### Interrogative Pronouns:

A two-way distinction between in the vicinity of the speaker and not in the vicinity of the speaker is maintained in interrogative pronouns also. If the referent is not in the vicinity of the speaker, then 'na' is suffixed to the interrogative pronouns that are used for referents in the vicinity of the speaker. See the list below:

|   |   |
|---|---|
| <i>In the vicinity<br/>of the speaker</i> | <i>Not in the vicinity<br/>of the speaker</i> |
| nu 'who'                                  | huna 'who'                                    |
| nĩ 'what'                                 | nina 'what'                                   |

nihĩ 'which'                      nihina 'which'

For the interrogative - no 'where (in the vicinity of the speaker)', the non-vicinity counterpart is formed by suffixing '-ho' as below:

no 'where'                      noho 'where'

The other interrogatives are

|         |                          |
|---------|--------------------------|
| nitañ   | 'what sort'              |
| nitampa | 'how'                    |
| nimpa   | 'why'                    |
| nido    | 'when'                   |
| nihe    | 'how many (countable)'   |
| ninkane | 'how much (uncountable)' |

Among the above interrogative pronouns, 'ni' functions as the interrogative morpheme, except - hu 'who'. 'no' can be analysed as 'ni + o' like the place adverbs (See, the section place adverbs on p.32 for details).

### Deixis

The notion of deixis handles certain features of language which are relative to place and time of utterance. Deictic categories are found in Apatani that are used to identify typical spatial and social situation. As already mentioned, this feature is found in the pronominal system. A two-way distinction is

made in the social situation, i.e., known Vs. unknown coupled with the spatial situation, i.e., visible Vs. invisible. The pronoun 'si' is used for referents that are known/in the vicinity of the speaker and 'hi' is used for referents that are unknown/not in the vicinity of the speaker. A parallel difference is maintained in interrogatives, i.e., in the vicinity of the speaker Vs. not in the vicinity of the speaker. It is done through the marker 'na' added to the interrogative pronouns that are used for referents in the vicinity of the speaker.

A three-way distinction is found in deictic pronouns on relational distance between the speaker and the referent. The division is as follows:

- (a) Proximate
- (b) Intermediate distance
- (c) Far away from the speaker

'siksi', 'insi' and 'intosi' are used respectively for the above categories. This is reflected in demonstratives also.

The same distinction is found to operate in adverbs of place. They are formed by adding the locative element 'o' to the deictic pronouns and

third person pronoun - *hi* 'he/she/it' (unknown/invisible).

|                          |      |               |
|--------------------------|------|---------------|
| <i>si</i> + <i>o</i>     | ---→ | <i>so</i>     |
| <i>insi</i> + <i>o</i>   | ---→ | <i>inso</i>   |
| <i>intosi</i> + <i>o</i> | ---→ | <i>intoso</i> |
| <i>hi</i> + <i>o</i>     | ---→ | <i>ho</i>     |

As shown above, as a result of sandhi changes, the forms given in the right hand side of the arrow are derived forms. They are listed with meaning below:

|               |                                 |
|---------------|---------------------------------|
| <i>so</i>     | 'here (proximate)'              |
| <i>inso</i>   | 'there (intermediate distance)' |
| <i>intoso</i> | 'there (far away)'              |
| <i>ho</i>     | 'there (unknown/invisible)'     |

The deictic categories '*si*' and '*hi*' are also used as determiners. They are added with generic nouns to limit their referential range and to identify the spatial position. '*si*' is added to the noun/noun phrases to indicate the proximity of the referent and '*hi*' to indicate the remoteness of the referent. Otherwise, the noun appears without either one of it. Though it is permitted to add these determiners to all nouns in a sentence, usually the subject noun takes the determiner. Other nouns, usually, appear without the determiner.

ami si xedu. 'the cat (proximate)  
 cat det. cry-asp. cries'  
 . i hi pido. 'the dog (remote) barks'  
 dog det. bark-asp.  
 si didu. 'cattle grazes'  
 cattle graze-asp.  
 aki hi paro si mi cibine.  
 dog det. hen det. acc. catch-p.t.  
 'the dog caught the hen'  
 pati hi alyi hi mi cixibine.  
 tiger det. pig det. acc. kill-p.t.  
 'the tiger killed the pig'

When the adjective that follows the headnoun is present, the determiner follows the adjective.

myu runi hi hime ako mi membine.  
 man mad det. boy one acc. kill-p.t.  
 'the mad man killed the boy'

A similar difference is maintained in interrogatives pronouns also. A suffix 'na' is added to differentiate the referent from those that are in the vicinity of the speaker. See the section on interrogative pronouns.

The distinction in the spatial situation is found in imperative constructions also. If the place of action of second person is proximate to the speaker 'to' is added to the imperative verb and if the place of action of the second person is remote 'ne' is added to the imperative verb.

|                      |                          |
|----------------------|--------------------------|
| yasi bito            | 'give water (proximate)' |
| water give-det.      |                          |
| yasi biñe            | 'give water (remote)'    |
| water give-det.      |                          |
| apiñ bipe            | 'give (for) me rice      |
| rice give-pur.       | (proximate)'             |
| o duyepé             | 'drink (for) me beer     |
| beer drink-det.-pur. | (remote)'                |

### Case System

The case identifies the syntactic function and the semantic role of the noun phrases in a sentence. In Apatani, this is done through different case markers. As mentioned already, the case signs follow the headnoun. If the adjective is present it follows the adjective. If the determiner is present it follows the determiner. If the numeral adjective is present, the case sign follows it. As mentioned earlier, the case sign is treated as a post position. When they occur with first and second persons (singular), they are (uttered as single lexical item). The following list gives the different case signs that are found in Apatani.

|            |     |          |
|------------|-----|----------|
| Nominative | ... | unmarked |
| Accusative | ... | mi       |
| Dative     | ... | mi       |
| Locative   | ... | o        |

|              |     |       |
|--------------|-----|-------|
| Instrumental | ... | lo    |
| Purposive    | ... | pa    |
| Genitive     | ... | ka/ki |

### Nominative:

The nominative is unmarked and occurs without any case sign. Usually, nominative functions as the subject of the sentence and takes the sentence initial position. Since the other noun phrases are marked, the subject can be easily identified even if there is any change in the normal position. Semantically, it may be the agent, the affected entity, the instrumental or the experiencer of the action identified by the verb.

aki hi pido.  
 dog det. bark-asp.  
 'the dog is barking'

ami si imido.  
 cat det. sleep-asp.  
 'the cat is sleeping'

pati alyi cixbine.  
 tiger pig kill-p.t.  
 'the tiger killed the pig'

nyimi apiñ mine.  
 woman rice cook-p.t.  
 'the woman cooked rice'



yalañ bayine.  
stone roll-p.t.  
'the stone rolled'

yasi bidu.  
water flow-asp.  
'water flows'

kago mo' mi dambine.  
Kago he acc. beat-p.t.  
'Kago beat him'

emo mi tarh rilorijabine.  
paddy acc. snow destroy-p.t.  
'snow destroyed the paddy'

nyimi mi gyopu goxibine.  
woman acc. lightening kill-p.t.  
'lightening killed the woman'

yalyo haya duku.  
Yalyo hungry exist-asp.  
'Yalyo is hungry'

ñika anu hi bisóne.  
I-gen. younger brother det. get frighten-p.t.  
'my younger brother got frightened'

ñika lapyo si aha do.  
I-gen. palm det. itching sensation exist  
'I have itching sensation on my palm'

hime si oho do.  
boy det. be tall exist  
'the boy is tall'

#### Accusative:

The accusative case sign is 'mi'. This indicates the object of a transitive verb. Usually, this precedes the verb. It has the patient role in a sentence.

no kago mi latuti.

I Kago acc. catch-p.t.

'I caught Kago'

nika aba hi nimi gabine.

I-gen. father det. I-acc. scold-p.t.

'my father scolded me'

mo' emo mi pitiku.

she paddy acc. collect-asp.

'she collected the paddy'

aki hi ami si mi pidu.

dog det. cat det. acc. bark-asp.

'the dog is barking at the cat'

molu sulu mi berbidu.

they fence acc. jump-asp.

'they are jumping over the fence'

no nika obuko lema mi rone

I I-gen. place of birth village acc. once

tare apamara sisi rayepa.

time native place till now leave

'I never left my native town till now'

When the subject and object noun share the semantic feature (+human)/(+animate) the accusative case sign is used obligatorily. When the subject is (-human) and object is (+human), the object is marked with accusative case sign.

aki tayun mi asibine.

dog Tayung acc. bite-p.t.

'the dog bit Tayung'

sihini mo' mi alitubine.

cow he acc. kick-p.t.

'the cow kicked him'

When the subject is (+human)/(+animate) and the

object is (-human)/(-animate) the accusative case sign is dropped.

mo' sihi~~ni~~ pabine.  
he cow kill-p.t.  
'he killed the cow'

alyi hi yo haxibine.  
pig det. meat take away-p.t.  
'the pig took away meat'

aki si paro cibine.  
dog det. hen catch-p.t.  
'the dog caught a hen'

In such instances, the accusative case sign is used to specify the object.

tayun alyi mi lagine.  
Tayung pig acc. bring-p.t.  
'Tayung brought the pig (specific)'

mo' alyi mi pabine.  
he pig acc. kill-p.t.  
'he killed the pig (specific)'

The same rule holds good, when the subject is a natural force.

alyi ude hedubine.  
wind house destroy-p.t.  
'the wind destroyed the house'

If the word order is changed, the accusative case sign is used obligatorily.

Dative:

The dative case sign is the same as that of the accusative, i.e., 'mi'. It functions as the indirect object at syntactic level. Since the

semantic role and the syntactic function of the dative and accusative noun phrases are different, they are treated as separate cases despite its identity in form. Moreover both dative and accusative noun phrases occur in a simple sentence. Dative noun phrase indicates the benefactive role.

no ñika nyimi ajiñ mi tasan soye  
 I I-gen. girl friend dat. necklace one  
 mi bito.  
 acc. give-p.t.

'I gave my girl friend a necklace'

ñika ani tade mi yo bibine.  
 I-gen. mother Tade dat. meat give-p.t.  
 'my mother gave meat to Tade'

ñika anu ñimi sihini dore mombiti.  
 I-gen. brother I-dat. cow one send-p.t.  
 'my brother sent me a cow'

no alyi mi yo ohoti.  
 I pig dat. meat feed-p.t.  
 'I fed the pig with meat'

no yo mi alyi mi ohoti.  
 I meat acc. pig dat. feed-p.t.  
 'I fed meat (specified) to the pig'

Instances are found, where experiencer is also manifested through the dative noun phrases.

ñimi lyabyabine.  
 I-dat. get burns-p.t.  
 'I got burns'

alyi mi lyàbyabine.  
 pig dat. get burns-p.t.  
 'the pig got burns'

### Locative:

The locative case sign is 'o'. But it always occurs with any of the determiners (See, also the section on deixis). If the noun phrase is not specified then it occurs with the generic marker 'k'. As already mentioned, determiners are 'si' and 'hi'. As a result the fusion of the locative case sign with the determiner/generic marker, they function as a single unit.

The different forms are given below:

|        |    |    |   |
|--------|----|----|---|
| si + o | -> | so | 'indicates location in proximity'                             |
| hi + o | -> | ho | 'indicates location in remoteness'                            |
| k + o  | -> | ko | 'indicates location without specifying any spatial situation' |

The locative noun phrase indicates the location of the event/action identified by the verb. It is also used to indicate the destination.

mo'ude ho dudu.  
 he house loc. stay-exist  
 'he stayed in the house'

mo'more ho sine.  
 he forest loc. die-p.t.  
 'he died in the forest'

mo' turla ko o' to'tibine.  
 he mug loc. beer pour-p.t.  
 'he poured beer in a mug'

mo'lu ude ho lurisine.  
 they house loc. talk-p.t.  
 'they talked in the house'

kago dutin so dudu.  
 Kago plank loc. sit-exist  
 'Kago sat on the plank'

mo' putu ho cane.  
 he hill loc. climb-p.t.  
 'he climbed the hill'

When the allative is expressed through this case sign, it can be dropped optionally.

nika anu more (ho) ine.  
 I-gen. younger brother forest loc. go-p.t.  
 'my younger brother went to the forest'

If one moves from one place to another permanently, then the case sign is not dropped.

no jiro ho indu.  
 I Ziro loc. move-p.t.  
 'I moved to Ziro'

Here, the subject has shifted to Ziro permanently. Hence, the locative case sign is not dropped.

The spatial orientation is specified further by adding forms like the following alongwith the locative case sign. These post positions are added to those noun phrases to which the genitive case sign has already been added. But the deletion of the genitive case sign is optional

in all such instances. It is also used without noun phrases.

'hao ho': This is added to indicate that the location is above/over the referent.

tebil (ka) hao ho no pota mi atito.  
table gen. p.p. loc. I book acc. keep-p.t.  
'I kept the book above the table'

nika potin hi hao ho done.  
I-gen. pen det. above loc. exist-p.t.  
'my pen was above (in the upstairs)'

myu tañe hi hao du.  
people some det. above exist  
'some people are living in higher plain of the plateau'

nunu putu (ka) hao ho pita mi  
we hill gen. above loc. bird acc.

kapado.  
see-exist  
'we are seeing birds on the hill'

kabu sani ka ubu hao ho cane.  
rat tree gen. hole p.p. loc. climb-p.t.  
'the rat climbed over the whole of a tree'

'ako ho': This is used to indicate the location is below the referent and is remote.

no pota mi ako ho atiti.  
I book acc. below loc. put-p.t.  
'I put the book down' (on the floor)'

myu tañe hi ako ho du.  
people some det. below loc. exist  
'some people are living in the low lying part of the plateau'

'iko ho'<sup>1</sup>: This is used to indicate that the location is below the referent and is proximate.

mólu sanĩ iko ho dune.  
 they tree under loc. sit-p.t.  
 'they sat under a tree'

mo'yagi mi tebil (ka) iko ho  
 he basket acc. table gen. below loc.  
 atibine.  
 keep-p.t.  
 'he kept the basket below the table'

'bipi ho': This is used to indicate that the locus is under the referent.

alyi ude bipi ho gido.  
 pig house under loc. live-exist  
 'the pig is living under the house'

no sigo bipi ho pati dore kapate.  
 I bridge under loc. tiger one see-p.t.  
 'I saw a tiger under the bridge'

'hata ho': This is used to indicate that the locus is in front of the referent.

ude hata ho hime hi ilyo atiti.  
 house p.p. loc. boy det. sword keep-p.t.  
 'the boy kept the sword in front of the house'

myu atañ hika myu hata ho dudu.  
 people pl.w. that man front loc. sit-exist  
 'people are sitting in front of that man'

---

1. sanĩ (ka) iko means 'lower part of the tree' and sanĩ (ka) mitu means 'top of the tree'.



'kiliñ ho': This is used to indicate that the locus is behind the referent.

yalyo mo' ka abañ kiliñ ho dune.  
Yalyo she gen. elder behind loc. sit-p.t.  
brother

'Yalyo sat behind her brother'

nyimi sani kiliñ ho acigine.  
woman tree behind loc. hide-p.t.  
'the woman hide behind the tree'

'ura ho': This is used to indicate that the locus is inside the referent.

nunu ude ura ho du.  
we house inside loc. exist  
'we are inside the house'

sani rábu ura ho tabu do.  
tree hole inside loc. snake exist  
'there is a snake inside the hole of the tree'

yalañ rábu ura ho ñi da.  
stone hole inside loc. fish exist  
'there are fish inside the stones'

'ago ho': This is used to indicate that the locus is outside the referent.

myu atañ ude ago ho danyada.  
people pl.w. house outside loc. stand-exist  
'many people are standing outside the house'

ago ho ano lexi do.  
outside loc. very cold exist  
'it is very cold outside'

'aruñ ho': This is used to indicate that the locus is near the referent.

ude aruñ ho nyimi hi du.  
 house near loc. girl det. sit  
 'the girl just sat near the house'

inka myu hi more aruñ ho ine.  
 that man det. forest near loc. go-p.t.  
 'that man went near the forest'

'puñko' ho': This is used to indicate that  
 locus is in between two referents.

alyi hi kile anyi ka puñko' ho da.  
 pig det. river two gen. between loc. live  
 'the pig lived between two rivers'

putu anyi ka puñko' ho aji hi  
 maintain two gen. between loc. field det.

do.

exist

'there is a paddy field between two  
 mountains'

The temporal notions are also expressed through  
 the locative case sign.

hime atañ hi aro ho ine.  
 boy pl.w. det. morning loc. go-p.t.  
 'the boys went in the morning'

mo'anyi aro konci ho kapasí.  
 he two morning early loc. meet-p.t.  
 'they (two) met at dawn'

ajimini atañ more hoki ayo ho nyanyo  
 farmer pl.w. forest abl. night loc. honey

pabine.

collect-p.t.

'the farmers collected honey from the  
 forest in the night'

kago mo'mi nasu sôda ho kapa'  
 Kago he acc. dance loc. see  
 'Kago saw him during a dance'

When two locative noun phrases occur in a single sentence in such a way that both the phrases come under the dominance of the same verb, then the first phrase is obligatorily changed to a existential possessive noun phrase. This is done by adding 'ka' to the respective locative signs.

mo'ude hoka yadiñ ho tiko mi  
 he house e.p. box loc. money acc.  
 atibine.  
 keep-p.t.  
 'he kept the money in the box of the house'

#### Instrumental:

The instrumental case sign is 'lo'. It indicates the instrument used in carrying out an action identified by the verb.

mo'subu mi ilyo lo paxibine.  
 he mithun acc. sword inst. kill-p.t.  
 'he killed a mithun with a sword'

dumi mo'mi lopa lo dambine.  
 Dumi he acc. stick inst. beat-p.t.  
 'Dumi beat him with a stick'

mo'bije lo ude mibine.  
 he bamboo inst. house make-p.t.  
 'he made a house with bamboo'

#### Purposive:

In addition to the dative case, another case

relation found in Apatani is purposive. One of the reasons for setting up a separate case category for purposive is the presence of a separate, morphologically distinct, case sign 'pa'. Secondly, at the semantic level also dative and purposive express different relationship. Dative case always expresses benefactive meaning while purposive case expresses non-benefactive meaning.

myu h̥i yalyo pa mibido.  
man det. Yalyo pur. work-exist  
'the man worked for Yalyo'

ño n̥ika aba pa iliyo soye bubiti.  
I I-gen. father pur. sword one bring-p.t.  
'I brought a sword for my father'

mólu aki pa yo medo.  
they dog pur. meat search-exist  
'they are searching meat for dog'

The purposive case sign 'pa' indicates the change of state of objects when they are used with inchoative noun phrases. In such instances, the predicate used is - lyi 'to become'.

yasi h̥i taping pa lyido.  
water det. snow pur. become-exist  
'the water became snow'

mó'sar pa lyido.  
he teacher pur. become-exist  
'he became a teacher'

kago dínamyu pa lyido.  
Kago criminal pur. become-exist  
'Kago became a criminal'

# Genitive:

The genitive case sign is 'ka'. It indicates the possessive relationship of the noun phrase and other derived relationships. See the examples below:

mo'ka oho 'his son'  
he gen. son

mo'ka aba 'her father'  
she gen. father

ñika ala 'my hand'  
I-gen. hand

myu ka aji 'man's land'  
man gen. land

ñika pota 'my book'  
I-gen. book

ñunu ka lemba 'our village'  
we gen. village

ude ka tuli 'the pillar of the house'  
house gen. pillar

mo'ka óho' 'his height'  
he gen. height

kago ka anin 'Kago's coming'  
Kago gen. coming

myu ka adunin 'the hauling of the  
people gen. hauling people'

mo' mi ka taprinin 'her punishment'  
she acc. gen. punishment

# Possessive:

Besides the genitive, another possessive case is found in Apatani. The possessive case

indicates the possessive role in the sentence. Unlike the genitive, which stands for intra-phrasal relationship, this indicates interphrasal relationship. It occurs only when the predicate is an existential verb (i.e., any one of 'da, du, do' which are existential verbs).

mo'ki oho milobo hiñe du.  
 he pos. child male three exist  
 'he has three sons'

mo'ki subu dorkuaxe da.  
 she pos. mithun nine exist  
 'she has nine mithuns'

mo'ki ude peñkanuxe do.  
 he pos. house seven exist  
 'he has seven houses'

Case with complex morpheme as case sign are analysed in the following section.

#### Ablative:

The ablative case sign is a complex morpheme. It is a combination of locative case sign and the possessive case sign. As there are three locative case signs (See, locatives), there are three ablative case signs also. They are the following:

koki : 'indicates a generic source'

soki : 'indicates a proximate source'

hoki : 'indicates a remote source'

It is also possible to use the ablative with different locative post positions. When ablative

occurs with a pronoun, it takes only 'koki' which is the ablative case sign to indicate the generic source.

no mo'koki tiko lati  
I he abl. money take-p.t.  
'I took money from him'

mo'sihini koki anyi hidu.  
he cow abl. milk catch-p.t.  
'he milked the cow'

mo'lu pia hoki papu labine.  
they farm abl. egg get-p.t.  
'they got egg from the farm'

mo'aji soki adoku.  
he field abl. come-asp.  
'he came from the paddy field'

Temporal notions are also expressed through the ablative case sign as shown below:

mo'hin baji hoki imine.  
he three hour abl. sleep-p.t.  
'he slept from 3 O'clock'

#### Sociative:

The sociative case sign also is a complex one. It is formed by the combination of 'agin' and the locative case sign. The occurrence of the genitive case sign is permitted. If it is present, it immediately follows the noun. Its presence is not obligatory. This expresses the accompanying (i.e., with, alongwith, etc.) relationship.

*nominal*  
*ve*

no nika aba (ka) aginho inte.  
 I I-gen. father (gen.) soc. go-p.t.  
 'I went with my father'

inka myu hi mo'ka aban aginho du.  
 that man det. he gen. brother soc. stay  
 'that man lives with his brother'

hime atan hi nyimi aginho bisido.  
 boy pl.w. det. girl soc. sing-exist  
 'the boys are singing with a girl'

mo'ka ami agin ho mo'mi no kapato.  
 he-gen. cat soc. he acc. I see-p.t.  
 'I saw him with his cat'

mo'(ka) aginho subu mi bodine.  
 he (gen.) soc. mithun acc. take-p.t.  
 'he took with him his mithun'

### Direction:

The direction is also expressed through a complex case. The possessive noun phrase takes 'dalyi ho' to indicate the direction. When the noun is an inanimate object, the possessive case sign is dropped.

pati hi nyimi ki dalyi ho harane.  
 tiger det. girl pos. direction loc. run-p.t.  
 'the tiger ran towards the girl'

myu hi aki ki dalyi ho ine.  
 man det. dog pos. direction loc. go-p.t.  
 'the man went towards a dog'

nyimi kile dalyi ho ine.  
 girl river direction loc. go-p.t.  
 'the girl went towards the river'



aro        dalyi  
morning direction  
'towards morning'

alin       dalyi  
evening direction  
'towards evening'

#### Path:

The path is expressed through the complex case which is combination of locative and purposive case signs. This is also used to indicate the means of travel. In such constructions the deletion of the locative case sign is optional.

dumi more    hopa ado.  
Dumi forest path come-exist  
'Dumi is coming through the forest'

mólu bagari (ho)pa aku.  
they bus      path      come-asp.  
'they came by bus'

mo' paji (ho)pa harne.  
she cycle path    go-p.t.  
'she went by bicycle'

#### Existential Possessive:

The genitive case sign alongwith the locative case sign form a complex case and expresses the existential possessive meaning. In such instances, because of the spatial association of an object, it is attributed some kind of 'belongingness' meaning as shown in the examples below:

mo' koka harpa hi aya do.  
 he ext.pos. bucket det. good exist  
 'the bucket lying with him is good'

nunu nekañ<sup>2</sup> hoka alyi mi mencuku.  
 we nekang ext.pos. pig acc. kill-asp.  
 'we killed the pig of nekang'

mo' more hoka subu mi mencuku.  
 he forest ext.pos. mithun acc. kill-asp.  
 'he killed the mithun of the forest'

mo' nunu iskul hoka purini.  
 he wè school ext.pos. student  
 'he is a student of our school'

### Numeral

The Apatani numeral system follows decimal system. The units are listed below:

|       |         |
|-------|---------|
| kon   | 'one'   |
| anyi  | 'two'   |
| hin   | 'three' |
| pilyi | 'four'  |
| yaño  | 'five'  |
| xi    | 'six'   |
| kanu  | 'seven' |
| pinyi | 'eight' |
| koa   | 'nine'  |
| alyañ | 'ten'   |

The above units are used, when the numbers

---

2. nekañ is the place under the Apatani house where pigs are kept.

are used without particular reference to any object. Otherwise respective classifiers (See, p.60 section on classifiers) are added to the numerals.

In such instances, the classifiers are added to the basic numerals. There is no basic numeral for one and hence classifier itself stands for it.

|       |         |
|-------|---------|
| Ø     | 'one'   |
| -nyi  | 'two'   |
| -hiñ  | 'three' |
| -pɪ   | 'four'  |
| -ño   | 'five'  |
| xi    | 'six'   |
| kanu  | 'seven' |
| pinyi | 'eight' |
| koa   | 'nine'  |
| lyañ  | 'ten'   |

Multiples of 'ten' are formed by compounding the form - alyañ 'ten' with the unit. The units follow the decimal unit.

|             |          |         |
|-------------|----------|---------|
| alyañ pɪlye | (4 x 10) | 'forty' |
| alyañ yaño  | (5 x 10) | 'fifty' |
| alyañ xi    | (6 x 10) | 'sixty' |

There are exceptions to the above general rule. Exceptions are noticed in the case of following numerals:

twenty, thirty, seventy, eighty, ninety.

In the formation of the above numerals the form '-xañ' is added with the units. 'xañ' follows the units as illustrated below:

|           |           |
|-----------|-----------|
| nyi xañ   | 'twenty'  |
| hiñ xañ   | 'thirty'  |
| kanu xañ  | 'seventy' |
| pinyi xañ | 'eighty'  |
| koa xañ   | 'ninety'  |

The lexical item 'lañ' stands for 'hundred'. The multiples of 'hundred' are formed by adding 'la' to the units upto 'four hundred'. In such instances 'la-' is prefixed to the units.

|          |                 |
|----------|-----------------|
| lañ      | 'hundred'       |
| lanyi    | 'two hundred'   |
| lahiñ    | 'three hundred' |
| lampi    | 'four hundred'  |
| laño     | 'five hundred'  |
| lañ xi   | 'six hundred'   |
| lañkanu  | 'seven hundred' |
| lampinyi | 'eight hundred' |
| lañkoa   | 'nine hundred'  |
| lalyañ   | 'thousand'      |

The form 'lañ' is prefixed from 'four hundred' onwards as seen in the above list. The form -ako 'one' is used instead of -koñ 'one' when higher numeral above ten is formed. Numerals

above ten are formed by conjoining the units with the multiples of 'ten' or 'hundred'. The conjoining marker 'la' is used to conjoin the two numerals. The units follow the multiples of 'ten' or 'hundred' and the conjoining marker occur in between the two. The multiples of 'ten' or 'hundred' take the adjective marker 'ha' when it appear alongwith the units. See the following numerals:

|                                    |                                       |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| alyaṇhela ako                      | 'eleven'                              |
| alyaṇhela kanu                     | 'seventeen'                           |
| nyixaṇhela hiṇ                     | 'twentythree'                         |
| laṇhela ako                        | 'hundred and one'                     |
| laṇhela alyaṇ                      | 'hundred and ten'                     |
| laṇhela alyaṇ hela ako             | 'one hundred and eleven'              |
| lanyihela alyaṇ hela ako           | 'two hundred and one'                 |
| lalyaṇ hela laṇ                    | 'one thousand and one hundred'        |
| lalyaṇ hela laṇhela alyaṇ          | 'one thousand one hundred and ten'    |
| lalyaṇ hela laṇhela alyaṇ hela ako | 'one thousand one hundred and eleven' |

It is also possible to form numerals from 'eleven' to 'nineteen' by adding 'le' with the

units. In such cases 'le' is prefixed to the units (see the sample listed below). These forms are found in addition to the regular numerals explained above.

|        |            |
|--------|------------|
| leñkuñ | 'eleven'   |
| lenyi  | 'twelve'   |
| leño   | 'fifteen'  |
| lexkoa | 'nineteen' |

Multiples of thousand are formed by adding - lalyañ '1000' with respective numerals.

|              |         |
|--------------|---------|
| lalyañ anyi  | '2000'  |
| lalyañ hiñ   | '3000'  |
| lalyañlalyañ | '10000' |

The ordinal numeral (i.e., the numeral which indicates 'which one' in the sequence) is formed by adding 'nĩ' to the basic numeral. These numerals follow the headnoun.

|                        |                 |
|------------------------|-----------------|
| myu anyinĩ             | 'second man'    |
| myu hiñnĩ              | 'third man'     |
| pota taye              | 'first book'    |
| pota tapinĩ            | 'fourth book'   |
| pota tañonĩ            | 'fifth book'    |
| pota nyixanhela taye   | 'the 21st book' |
| pota nyixanhela tayinĩ | 'the 22nd book' |

The numerals, one and multiples of 'ten' will not take 'nĩ' and instead take 'he' to form

ordinal numerals. 'he' is in free variation with 'e'.

|            |         |
|------------|---------|
| lañe       | '100th' |
| hiñ xañ he | '30th'  |
| taye       | 'first' |

When 'saye' is added to a numeral, it will express the meaning 'each' as exemplified below:

nĩnyi      kĩ      alyi lyinyi saye da  
 we (two) pos. pig two      each exist  
 'we (two) have two pigs each'

mólu milañja pen solĩñ saye bulakendo  
 they all      pen three each take-mod.  
 'they all can take three pens each'

The form 'hemĩkane' is added to the adjective numeral to indicate how many fold of the original.

sika anye hemĩkane  
 this two fold  
 'twice of this'

sika hiñe hemĩkane  
 this three fold  
 'thrice of this'

The collective numeral which indicates a set or subset is formed by adding 'xi' to the numeral adjective or quantifier.

hime milañja xi      'all the boys'  
 hime hiñe xi      'three of the boys'  
 mólu tañe xi      'some of them'

There are different lexical items to indicate the fractions which vary depending on the shape

of the object. For example, if the object is a long one, - tatu 'half' is used. If the object is a round one, - pace 'half' is used. Uncountable objects take - tace 'half'. Other fractions are derived from the unit 'half'.

tacehe tace 'half of half - ( $\frac{1}{4}$ )'

tacehekatacehekatace '1/8'

Numeral adjectives are formed by adding 'xe/e' ('xe' is in free variation with 'e') to the respective numerals.

mihi anye 'two wives'  
wife two

ali bupe he 'four legs'  
leg four

ude penxekanuhe 'seven houses'  
house seven

### Classifiers

When the numerals are used as adjectives certain forms are prefixed to the numeral base to signal the classification of the referent in the conceptual categorization of nouns on the basis of shape, size, class, etc. They are called classifiers. There are two types of classifiers in Apatani. The first group belongs to the group explained above. The second group is formed by duplicating the final syllable of the noun and prefixing it to the numeral base and



signal a particular referent. The adjectives -  
-nyo 'small' and -ro 'big' also take classifiers.

**Classifiers that Indicate the Shape, Size,  
Class, etc. of the Referents:**

There are twelve classifiers that are used to identify the shape, size, class, etc. of the referents. The generic numerals listed in the section on numerals are used with human nouns. The classifiers are given below alongwith examples.

'pyer' - This classifier indicates that the objects are very small in size. Hence, it occurs with nouns like -lako 'button', taru 'ant',  
tami 'fly', taxa 'bedbug' emo 'paddy', sase 'ragi',  
sihi 'small stone', etc.

tami pyere 'one fly'  
fly one

emo pyernye 'two grains'  
grain two

'pu' - This classifier indicates that the objects are globular/cylindrical. This occurs with nouns like - papu 'egg', yalan 'stone which is round in shape', putu 'hill', layi 'torch',  
maribil 'marble', motili 'bottle', rediyo 'radio',  
garo 'pillow', tero 'chillies (round in shape),  
etc.

papu pue 'one egg'  
egg one

maribil punye 'two marbles'  
marble two

'so' - This classifier indicates that the objects are thin and long. This occurs with nouns like - yaso 'rope', tabu 'snake', tami 'grass', kusu 'hay', kati 'match stick', tari 'wire', potan 'pen', sagarati 'cigarette', etc.

yaso soye 'one rope'  
rope one

tabu sonye 'two snakes'  
make two

'ta' - This classifier indicates that the objects are flat and thin. Hence, this occurs with words like - yani 'leaf', xeta 'paper', santa 'plank', etc.

yani taye 'one leaf'  
leaf one

xeta tanye 'two papers'  
paper two

'tu' - This classifier is used to quantify liquids. Hence, it occurs with containers like - tula 'mug', sudu 'glass', etc.

tula ture 'one mug'  
mug one

sudu tunye 'two glasses'  
glass two

tula tanyo 'small mug'  
mug small

'bu' - This classifier is used to indicate that the object is big in size and cylindrical in shape. This occurs with nouns like - biye 'bamboo', panye 'walking stick', xunta 'pillar used for house construction (i.e., the pillar that goes upto the ceiling of the house), tucan 'supporting pillar at the sides of the house', tuli 'pillar used under the house', siran 'pillar used to make the verandah', sanɪ 'tree', paga 'beam', etc.

sanɪ bue 'one tree'  
tree one

siran bunye 'two pillars'  
pillar two

paga bunyo 'small beam'  
beam small

'be' - This classifier indicates that the objects are made of cloth. It is in free variation with 'bya'. This occurs with nouns like - abi 'pants', tari 'shirt', pulye 'cloth', hompulye 'blanket', etc.

pulye bere 'one cloth'  
cloth one

abi benye 'two pants'  
pants two

tari bero 'big shirt'  
shirt big

'ba' - This classifier is used to indicate

that the object is round and flat. This occurs with nouns like - pīlo 'moon', tīko 'rupee', talo 'round shaped plates used at the time of Morung festival', sīsa 'mirror', etc.

talo baro 'big plate'  
plate big

sīsa bare 'one mirror'  
mirror one

talo banye 'two plates'  
plate two

'do' - This classifier indicates that the objects are either animals or vehicles. Hence, it occurs with nouns like - sihīni 'cow', subu 'mithun', sībo 'buffalo', sībi 'monkey', gora 'horse', pati 'tiger', sībiñ 'goat', hogya 'lion', kua 'grasshopper', saykolo 'cycle', basgari 'bus', jaji 'aeroplane', etc.

subu dore 'one mithun'  
mithun one

sībo donye 'two buffaloes'  
buffalo two

saykolo done 'two bicycles'  
cycle two

'po' - This classifier occurs with nouns like - hapo 'tin container', sampo 'log', tāno' 'bundle of thread used by tailors' etc.

hapo poye 'one tin container'  
tin container one

|                  |       |              |
|------------------|-------|--------------|
| tàno'            | ponye | 'two bundles |
| bundle of thread | two   | of thread'   |

'du' - This classifier indicates that the object is made of bamboo. It occurs with sili 'bamboo container', etc.

|                  |      |             |
|------------------|------|-------------|
| sili             | duye | 'one bamboo |
| bamboo container | one  | container'  |

'pe' - This classifier occurs with nouns like - ude 'house', ayu - 'stanza of a traditional song' etc.

|        |       |                       |
|--------|-------|-----------------------|
| ude    | peñe  | 'one house'           |
| house  | one   |                       |
| ayu    | peñye | 'two stanzas of song' |
| stanza | two   |                       |

### Classifiers Formed by Duplication:

This is found with certain nouns and in such instances the final syllable of the noun is duplicated and prefixed to the numeral base.

Majority of such nouns occur frequently in usage.

Some examples are cited below:

|         |         |                |
|---------|---------|----------------|
| anyan   | nyañe   | 'one year'     |
| year    | one     |                |
| alyi    | lyine   | 'two pigs'     |
| pig     | two     |                |
| pican   | cahinhe | 'three pots'   |
| pot     | three   |                |
| pacu    | cupe    | 'four chicken' |
| chicken | four    |                |

|                                     |                 |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------|
| paro roñohe<br>hen five             | 'five hens'     |
| aro roxe<br>morning six             | 'six mornings'  |
| pàkù kukanuhe<br>dove seven         | 'seven doves'   |
| aki kipinye<br>dog eight            | 'eight dogs'    |
| nesu sukoahe<br>bran nine           | 'nine brans'    |
| alye lyelyañ<br>door ten            | 'ten doors'     |
| paku kulyañhela kue<br>plate eleven | 'eleven plates' |
| pano ronixañhe<br>hen twenty        | 'twenty hens'   |
| aki kinyo<br>dog small              | 'small dog'     |
| alyi lyiro<br>pig big               | 'big pig'       |

### Adjective

There is no separate class of words which are adjectives as such. There are certain verbs which are used as adjectives as well. When they occur with nouns, they follow the headnoun. When the numeral adjective is also present, the numeral adjective follows the qualifying adjective.

|                     |            |
|---------------------|------------|
| myu aya<br>man good | 'good man' |
|---------------------|------------|

myu aya ako                'one good man'  
man good one

sani oho                    'tall tree'  
tree tall

The determiners follow the adjective when they occur with them

myu aya hi                'good man (remote)'  
man good det.

sani oho si                'tall tree (proximate)'  
tree        tall det.

### Verb

Any word that can take tense is deemed to be a verb in the present study. An overwhelming majority of verbs is monosyllabic. In Apatani, verbs are added to the main verb to modify its inherent meaning. Such verbs are called verb particles in the present work. There are instances where the same verb is used as the main verb and verb particles. Also, there are cases where separate items are used as main verb and as verb particle. For example, the item - me 'kill' is used whenever it is used as a main verb and the item - xi 'kill' is used whenever it is added as a verb particle to modify the main verb. Another interesting feature noticed is the contrast between non-proximal past and proximal past on the one hand and proximal

future and non-proximal future on the other. There is no copula verb. The existential verb has three variants 'da', 'du' and 'do' and the selection is made on the basis of the posture of the subject (i.e., whether in standing posture, or sitting posture or lying posture). The negative immediately precedes the tense in the formation of finite verbs. Transitives are not distinguished from intransitives through separate markers. In other words, transitives are inherent and not derived. The predicate is not marked for gender, number and person (to agree with the subject). There is a category of verbs that are used as adjectives as well.

### Causative

Those verbs which provide the case frame for a causer and causee are called causative verbs. In such constructions the agent manifested as the subject will be the causer of the action and the causee will be the performer of the action. There are verbs like - meñ 'kill' which have causative interpretation, though the causative is not indicated at the morphological level. They are lexical causatives and are non-productive.



Morphologically regular and productive form of causatives are formed by adding 'kenen' to the verb root. Since there are no instances of the same form or related item used in a similar semantic range, a detailed analysis of this causative marker was not possible in this study. A sample is listed below;

|             |                 |
|-------------|-----------------|
| harkenen    | 'make to run'   |
| gokenen     | 'make to fly'   |
| menkenen    | 'make to kill'  |
| imi inkenen | 'make to sleep' |

In the case of - imi 'sleep', it is noticed that the causative marker 'kenen' is added to the duplicated first syllable and as a result of sandhi, the alveolar nasal undergoes assimilation.

It is also possible to express the causative in such a way that the notion of the action performed by the causer (i.e., the agent who causes to initiate the action) and causee (i.e., the agent who performs the action) could be explicitly represented as exemplified below. In such constructions causee is manifested through the instrumental case sign and causative suffix 'ko' is added to the verb.

no mo'lo      aki mi      mekoto.  
 I   he inst. dog acc. search-cau-p.t.  
 'I made him search the dog'

ño mo' lo ñika alyi mi mekoto.  
 I he inst. I-gen. pig acc. kill-cau-p.t.  
 'I made him kill my pig'

### The Existential Verb

As already mentioned, the existential verb in Apatani specifies the posture of referent. In the case of animate nouns, the posture at the time of speech act is indicated. If it is an inanimate object, then the posture is decided conceptually. The standing posture is expressed through the existential verb 'da'. 'da' means 'stand' (when used as a regular verb).

so myu da. •  
 here man exist  
 'here is a man (standing)'

sihiní ho da.  
 cow there exist  
 'there is a cow (standing)'

so alyi da.  
 here pig exist  
 'here is a pig (standing)'

kile ho ñi da.  
 river loc. fish exist  
 'there are fish in the river'

'do' which means 'sit' (when used as a regular verb) is used as existential verb to specify the sitting posture.

so myu ako du.  
 here man one exist  
 'here is a man (sitting)'

so ceyar du.  
here chair exist  
'here is a chair'

ho rediyo du.  
there radio exist  
'there is a radio'

bije 'bamboo', yaso 'cane', tanyi 'maize', etc.  
also take the existential verb 'du'.

'do' which means 'lie' (when used as a regular verb) is used as existential verb to specify the lying posture.

so myu ako do.  
here man one exist  
'here is a man (lying)'

tebil do  
table exist  
'there is a table'

poten do  
pen exist  
'there is a pen'

bajar ho ni do.  
bazar loc. fish exist  
'there is fish in the market'

inso putu puro puve do.  
here mountain big one exist  
'there is big mountain'

As mentioned earlier, the existential verbs are used to express possessive meaning and in such constructions, the presence of a possessive noun phrase with the possessive relation with

the verb is obligatory. Examples are given below:

nika aban ki mihi hinehe du.  
I-gen. brother pos. wife three exist  
'my brother has three wives'

kago ki ami yanohe da.  
Kago pos. cat five exist  
'Kago has five cats'

sika myu ki ilyo sonye do.  
this man pos. sword two exist  
'this man has two swords'

The existential verbs take the tense like regular verbs. The negative of it is - nyima 'no'.

mo'ki aki nyima.  
he pos. dog no  
'he has no dogs'

ude ho ami nyima.  
house loc. cat no  
'there is no cat in the house'

As already mentioned, there is a class of verbs which can be used as adjectives as well. Such verbs take the existential verb when used as adjective.

myu si jantu do.  
man det. fat exist  
'the man is fat'

inka alyi si atu do.  
that pig det. small exist  
'that pig is small'

The negative is formed by using 'ma' in the place of existential verb.

alyi atu ma.  
pig small no  
'the pig is not small'

nunu mi ka kagini oho ma.  
our acc. gen. leader tall no  
'out leader is not tall'

### Verb Particle

In Apatani, verbs are added to the main verb to modify its inherent meaning. Such verbs are called verb particles.

'ca' (means 'climb') is added to the verb root to indicate that the subject is moving up to perform the action identified by the main verb.

luca 'to move up to tell'  
mica 'to move up to do'  
bica 'to move up to give'

'yi' is added to indicate that the subject is moving down to perform the action identified by the main verb.

luyi 'to move down to tell'  
miyi 'to move down to do'  
biyi 'to move down to give'  
imiyi 'to move down to sleep'

'bo' is added to indicate that the subject is moving on level ground to perform the action identified by the main verb.

|       |                                |
|-------|--------------------------------|
| lubo' | 'move on level ground to tell' |
| míbo' | 'move on level ground to do'   |
| bibo' | 'move on level ground to give' |

'bi' (means 'give') is added to indicate that the action is performed for the sake of someone else.

|      |                                |
|------|--------------------------------|
| lubi | 'say for the sake of someone'  |
| míbi | 'do for the sake of someone'   |
| bibi | 'give for the sake of someone' |

'ciñ' is added to indicate that the subject knows how to perform the action he is engaged in.

|       |                    |
|-------|--------------------|
| luciñ | 'know how to tell' |
| míciñ | 'know how to do'   |
| biciñ | 'know how to give' |

'xa' is added to indicate the failure in realising/achieving the object of an action.

|       |                                 |
|-------|---------------------------------|
| éxa'  | 'miss the aim (while shooting)' |
| míxa' | 'do unsuccessfully'             |
| mexa' | 'search unsuccessfully'         |

'pyo' is added to indicate that the action is done by hiding.

|       |                  |
|-------|------------------|
| lupyó | 'say by hiding'  |
| mípyo | 'do by hiding'   |
| bipyó | 'give by hiding' |
| ípyo  | 'prostitute'     |

'si' is added to the main verb to indicate that the action is already over and not involved in it any more.

|       |                           |
|-------|---------------------------|
| asi   | 'coming is already over'  |
| mensi | 'killing is already over' |
| bisi  | 'giving is already over'  |

'su' is added to indicate the negative attitude or disapproval of the speaker towards the action identified by the main verb.

|                   |   |
|-------------------|---|
| mensuto           | 'you kill but I don't approve it whole-heartedly' |
| mo'insune         | 'he went though I requested                       |
| he go-v.p.-p.t.   | him not to go'                                    |
| mo'lusune         | 'he told though I didn't                          |
| he tell-v.p.-p.t. | approve it whole-heartedly'                       |
| insu              | 'go unwillingly'                                  |
| misu              | 'do unwillingly'                                  |

'min' is added to indicate the aimless nature of action.

|       |  |
|-------|--|
| lumin | 'just tell (something) without any aim or purpose' |
| lumin | 'just go (somewhere) without any aim or purpose'   |
| minin | 'just do (something) without any aim or purpose'.  |

'pyo' is added to express the excellency of the object of action.

|       |                       |
|-------|-----------------------|
| dipyo | 'good to eat'         |
| lupyo | 'good to tell'        |
| kapyo | 'good to look at/see' |

'ta' is added along with 'su' to indicate that the action is done violating an order/instruction.

|        |                               |
|--------|-------------------------------|
| insuta | 'to go violating the order'   |
| misuta | 'to do violating the order'   |
| lusuta | 'to tell violating the order' |

'kañ' is added to indicate that the action is continuing beyond the stipulated or given time.

|       |                               |
|-------|-------------------------------|
| lukan | 'talk beyond the given time'  |
| dikan | 'eat beyond the given time'   |
| mikan | 'do beyond the allotted time' |

'xa' is added to indicate the persistent nature of the action.

|      |   |
|------|---|
| luxa | 'not to give up talking in adverse circumstances'     |
| dixa | 'not give up eating in adverse circumstances'         |
| mixa | 'not to give up working in the adverse circumstances' |

'xi' is added to indicate that the purpose of the action is realised. In such constructions, the subject takes the dative case sign.



ñimi luxiti

I-dat. tell-v.p.-p.t.

'I realized the purpose of his telling'

ñimi mixiti

I-dat. do-v.p.-p.t.

'I realized the purpose of his doing'

'pyo' is added to indicate that the action is done first by the agent in comparison to others.

lupyo' 'say first'

impyo' 'go first'

dipyo' 'eat first'

'pyu' is added to indicate that the action of the subject is degrading to the listener or someone else.

lupyu' 'insult by telling'

bipyu' 'insult by giving'

mipyu' 'insult by doing'

'pye' is added to indicate the success in achieving the objective of the action.

mipye 'to succeed in achieving the objective of doing'

lupye 'to succeed in achieving the objective of telling'

mempye 'to succeed in achieving the objective of killing'

'po' is added to indicate that the action

is performed using a short-cut method.

|       |                                    |
|-------|------------------------------------|
| lupo' | 'say in a short cut way (briefly)' |
| impo' | 'go through the short-cut'         |
| mipo' | 'do using the shortest method'     |

'pu' is added to indicate that the action is done unknowingly and in the wrong way.

|      |                                    |
|------|------------------------------------|
| tapu | 'drink unknowingly which is wrong' |
| lupu | 'tell unknowingly which is wrong'  |
| apu  | 'come unknowingly which is wrong'  |

'piñ' is added to convey a negative meaning while scolding etc., which is opposite of the lexical meaning.

|       |  |
|-------|--|
| lupin | 'continue to say (means should not continue to say)'   |
| mipin | 'continue to do (means should not continue to do)'     |
| bipin | 'continue to give (means should not continue to give)' |

'bi' is used to indicate the successful nature of the action identified by the verb.

|      |                      |
|------|----------------------|
| mibi | 'succeed in doing'   |
| lubi | 'succeed in telling' |
| bibi | 'succeed in giving'  |

'bi' is added to indicate the certainty on the part of the speaker about the statement.

This occurs with proximate past and proximate future.

|       |                  |
|-------|------------------|
| mibi' | 'do certainly'   |
| lubi' | 'tell certainly' |
| bibi' | 'give certainly' |

'bo' is added to indicate the act of joining/ sharing with others in performing an action.

|       |                                    |
|-------|------------------------------------|
| mibo' | 'join/share with others in doing'  |
| dibo' | 'join/share with others in eating' |
| bibo' | 'join/share with others in giving' |

'din' is added to indicate that the action is done intentionally.

|        |                      |
|--------|----------------------|
| mendin | 'kill intentionally' |
| ludin  | 'say intentionally'  |
| bidin  | 'give intentionally' |

'ti' is used to indicate the repetitive nature of the action.

|      |                  |
|------|------------------|
| luti | 'repeat telling' |
| miti | 'repeat doing'   |
| biti | 'repeat giving'  |

'ter' is added to indicate that the action is done to make someone to part with the action/ habit he is engaged in.

|       |  |
|-------|--|
| luter | 'tell to make to part with<br>certain action engaged in' |
|-------|--|

## 80/MORPHOLOGY

mīter 'do to make to part with certain  
action engaged in'

biter 'give to make to part with  
certain action engaged in'

'ti' is added to indicate that the action  
is carried out as a preventive measure.

mīti 'do as a preventive measure'

luti 'say as a preventive measure'

tanti 'drink as a preventive measure'

'kiñ' is used to indicate that the action  
is done as a demonstration.

mikiñ 'show how to do'

dikiñ 'demonstrate how to eat'

bikiñ 'demonstrate how to give'

'kur' is added to indicate the reversing  
the process of action.

kakur 'look back'

harkur 'run back'

Or, it may denote, going back to the same action.

imi ikur 'sleep again'

dikur 'eat again'

'kum' is added to indicate the collective  
involvement in an action. 'pa' is also added to  
the duplicated verb root.

dikum dipa 'eat collectively'

takum tapa 'drink collectively'

bikum bipa 'give collectively'

'gi' is added to indicate the change of place or position.

dugi' 'change sitting position'

gigi' 'change lying position'

digi' 'change eating position'

'gu' is added to indicate the change over from one item to another.

lugu 'change from one topic to another while talking'

migu 'change from one work to another while working'

bigu 'change from one item to another while giving'

'go' is added to indicate that the subject has surpassed someone in the action.

ingo' 'surpass in going'

migo' 'surpass in doing'

bigo' 'surpass in giving'

'gi' is added to indicate the guiding or instructing nature of the action.

ingi 'guide in going'

migi 'guide in doing'

bigi 'guide in giving'

'gyo' is added to indicate that the

benefactor is obliged to return the action.

- |       |   |
|-------|---|
| migyo | 'do something so as the benefactor is obliged to return the action by doing something for him'    |
| lugyo | 'say something so as the benefactor is obliged to return the action by telling something for him' |
| ingyo | 'go somewhere so as the benefactor is obliged to return the action by going for him'              |

'gyo`' is added to indicate the mixing of two or more items in performing the action.

- |        |                                  |
|--------|----------------------------------|
| digyo` | 'eat mixing two or more items'   |
| lugyo` | 'tell mixing two or more topics' |
| migyo` | 'do mixing two or more items'    |

'gya' is added to indicate that the action is done unknowingly.

- |        |                     |
|--------|---------------------|
| tangya | 'drink unknowingly' |
| lugya  | 'tell unknowingly'  |
| agya   | 'come unknowingly'  |

'gogi' is added to indicate that the action indicated is a pending one.

- |        |                                  |
|--------|----------------------------------|
| migogi | 'do something that is pending'   |
| lugogi | 'tell something that is pending' |
| bigogi | 'give something that is pending' |

'myo' is added to indicate that the action is done in advance.

|       |                   |
|-------|-------------------|
| lumyo | 'tell in advance' |
| imyo  | 'go in advance'   |
| bimyo | 'give in advance' |

'mĩn' is used to indicate that the subject is successful in competing in the action identified by the verb.

|       |  |
|-------|--|
| dĩmĩn | 'come out successfully in eating competition'  |
| lumĩn | 'come out successfully in talking competition' |
| bimĩn | 'come out successfully in giving competition'  |

'nõ' is used to indicate the stoppage of an action identified by the verb.

|     |                |
|-----|----------------|
| luõ | 'stop talking' |
| mĩõ | 'stop doing'   |
| biõ | 'stop giving'  |

'nya' is added as an emphatic marker after the aspect marker.

|          |                    |
|----------|--------------------|
| tandunya | 'already drinking' |
| mĩdunya  | 'already doing'    |
| bidunya  | 'already giving'   |
| ludunya  | 'already telling'  |

'lu' is added to indicate that the action unfavourably affected another action.

|      |   |
|------|---|
| lulu | 'something was spoiled because of talk'                           |
| mīlu | 'some action was affected unfavourably because of another action' |
| bilu | 'some action was affected unfavourably because of giving'         |

'lo' is added to indicate the object of the action is moving down as a result of the action.

|      |  |
|------|--|
| palo | 'cut down the branches of a tree so as to go down' |
| rilo | 'throw so that the object will go down'            |

'la' is added to indicate that the subject is an expert in the action identified by the verb.

|      |                           |
|------|---------------------------|
| lula | 'speak in skilful manner' |
| mīla | 'work in skilful manner'  |
| рила | 'throw in skilful manner' |

'lyo' is added to indicate that the action is done in an improper manner.

|       |                              |
|-------|------------------------------|
| dilyo | 'eat in an improper manner'  |
| ilyo  | 'go in an improper manner'   |
| bilyo | 'give in an improper manner' |

'lyañ' is added to indicate that the action is done to rectify something when it is not in sound condition.



|        |                                  |
|--------|----------------------------------|
| milyañ | 'repair'                         |
| lulyañ | 'tell to make something alright' |
| bilyañ | 'give to make something alright' |
| palyañ | 'cut to make something alright'  |

'ru' is added to indicate the difficulty in carrying out the action identified by the verb.

|      |                     |
|------|---------------------|
| luru | 'difficult to tell' |
| diru | 'difficult to eat'  |
| mīru | 'difficult to do'   |
| biru | 'difficult to give' |

're' is added to indicate that the action is performed excessively.

|      |                  |
|------|------------------|
| lure | 'tell in excess' |
| mīru | 'do in excess'   |
| bire | 'give in excess' |

'rañ' is added to indicate the continuity of the action.

|       |                    |
|-------|--------------------|
| lurañ | 'continue to tell' |
| mīrañ | 'continue to work' |
| irañ  | 'continue to walk' |

'sa' is added to indicate that the action is done in a place away from both the speaker and hearer.

|       |                           |
|-------|---------------------------|
| lusa  | 'tell in a distant place' |
| mensa | 'kill in a distant place' |

misa 'do in a distant place'

'hiñ' is added to indicate the involvement of an entire set in performing an action.

m<sup>h</sup>hiñ 'entire set is involved in working'

luhiñ 'entire set is involved in talking'

bihiñ 'entire set is involved in giving'

'jómo' is added to indicate that the action is performed following another man.

injómo 'follow someone in walk'

lujómo 'follow someone in talk'

mijómo 'follow someone in action'

'pa' is added to indicate that someone is reminded of something through the action identified by the verb.

lupa 'remind by talking'

mipa 'remind by doing'

bipa 'remind by giving'

'pa' is added to denote the action of getting rid of someone/something through the action performed.

mempa' 'get rid of by killing'

impa' 'get rid of by going'

lupa' 'get rid by telling'

mípa' 'get rid by doing'

'pa' is used to indicate the action of insulting someone through action performed.

lupa' 'insult by telling'

impa' 'insult by going'

mípa' 'insult by doing'

'pya' is added to express the act of returning the debt through the action identified by the verb.

mípya 'return the debt by doing'

lupya 'return the debt by telling'

impya 'return the debt by going'

'té' is added to indicate the defensive nature of the action.

lutér 'defend by talk'

bité' 'defend by giving'

mítér 'defend by action'

'tu' is added to indicate that the action is performed to stop something or someone.

mítu 'stop by doing'

latu 'stop by catching'

lutu 'stop by talking'

'tin' is added to indicate that the action is done to obstruct or to stop someone forcefully.

|        |                                       |
|--------|---------------------------------------|
| ṃitiñ | 'obstruct/stop forcefully by going'   |
| lutiñ  | 'obstruct/stop forcefully by telling' |
| biñtiñ | 'obstruct/stop forcefully by giving'  |

'ce' is added to indicate the action of breaking something into pieces through the action.

|      |                                 |
|------|---------------------------------|
| pace | 'break into pieces by cutting'  |
| dace | 'break into pieces by beating'  |
| rice | 'break into pieces by throwing' |

'ka' is added to indicate the act of checking or testing someone.

|      |                         |
|------|-------------------------|
| dika | 'check/test by eating'  |
| luka | 'check/test by telling' |
| bika | 'check/test by giving'  |

'du' is added to indicate the act of destroying something through the action identified by the main verb.

|        |                      |
|--------|----------------------|
| ṃidu' | 'destroy by doing'   |
| dandu' | 'destroy by beating' |
| padu'  | 'destroy by cutting' |

'mi' is added to indicate the act putting out the fire through the action identified by the main verb.

|      |                               |
|------|-------------------------------|
| dami | 'put out the fire by beating' |
|------|-------------------------------|

rīmi 'put out the fire by pouring  
water'

camī 'put out the fire by stamping'

'luñ' is used to indicate the act of  
frightening someone through the action identi-  
fied by the main verb.

luluñ 'threaten by telling'

mīluñ 'threaten by doing'

laluñ 'threaten by catching'

'xi' is added to indicate the act of killing  
something or someone through the action of  
identified by the main verb.

paxi 'kill by cutting'

exi 'kill by shooting'

xixi 'kill by boiling'

'xiñ' is added to indicate the act of keep-  
ing away from an action because of the adverse  
experience.

dixiñ 'stop eating because of some  
adverse effect'

ixiñ 'stop going because of some  
adverse experience'

luxiñ 'stop talking because of some  
adverse experience.'

'pya' is added to indicate the cause of  
happening or action.

|         |                       |
|---------|-----------------------|
| impya'  | 'because of going'    |
| imipya' | 'because of sleeping' |
| mipyā'  | 'because of working'  |

### Reduplicated Verbs:

There are certain moods which are expressed through reduplication where the mood markers are added to verb root and the duplicated one.

'si ... ha' - To express the difficulty involved in performing an action identified by the verb, 'si ... ha' is added as in the following:

|         |        |                     |
|---------|--------|---------------------|
| lusi    | luha   | 'difficult to tell' |
| tell-on | tell-m |                     |
| insi    | inha   | 'difficult to go'   |
| go-m    | go-m   |                     |

'tu ... po' - To express the discontinuous nature of an action 'tu' is added to the verb, followed by 'po' alongwith its reduplicated form.

|      |      |                             |
|------|------|-----------------------------|
| intu | impo | 'go halting at different    |
| go-m | go-m | points'                     |
| lutu | lupo | 'talk breaking at different |
|      |      | points'                     |

'kaye ... kaye' - To express the intermittent nature of an action 'kaye' is added to the verb root, followed by 'kaye' added to its reduplicated form. The reduplicated verb takes

the netative in addition to 'kaye'.

|                     |           |      |      |               |
|---------------------|-----------|------|------|---------------|
| luka                | kaye      | luma | kaye | 'intermittent |
| 'tell-m.            | tell-neg. | m.   |      | narration'    |
| mido                | huka      | kaye | mido | huma          |
| rain                | fall      | m.   | rain | fall-neg.     |
|                     |           | m.   |      |               |
| 'intermittent rain' |           |      |      |               |

'gyo ... lyo' - To express the mixed (i.e., separate group identity is not kept) nature of an activity. 'gyo' is added to the verb root followed by 'lyo' added to the reduplicated verb.

|        |        |                            |
|--------|--------|----------------------------|
| migyo  | milyo  | 'mix in doing'             |
| do-m   | do-m   |                            |
| dugyo  | dulyo  | 'mix in sitting' (boys and |
| sit-m  | sit-m  | girls sitting together     |
|        |        | without keeping group      |
|        |        | distinction)               |
| bigyo  | bilyo  | 'mix in giving'            |
| give-m | give-m |                            |

'ce ... ye' is added to the verb and its reduplicated form to express the meaning 'break' and the verb to which it is added denotes the way of doing it (i.e., by 'hitting', by 'stamping', etc.).

|       |       |                      |
|-------|-------|----------------------|
| kice  | kiye  | 'break by hitting'   |
| gace  | gaye  | 'break by squeezing' |
| nyece | nyeye | 'break by chewing'   |

'pe ... se' is added to the verb and its reduplicated form respectively, to indicate the

meaning 'disperse' and the verb to which it is added indicates the way of doing it (i.e., by telling, or by giving, etc.).

|           |                       |
|-----------|-----------------------|
| lupe luse | 'disperse by telling' |
| mipe mise | 'disperse by doing'   |
| bipe bise | 'disperse by giving'  |

### Tense

Four-fold distinction is found in Apatani tense system. They are non-proximal past, proximal past, non-proximal future and proximal future. There is no marker to indicate the present tense found in languages like Hindi and English.

#### Non-proximal Past:

An action performed at a remote past in reference to the time of speech act is said to be in non-proximal past. Non-proximal past is indicated through 'to/te/ne'. When the subject is in first person and the place of action is in the proximity of the speaker, 'to' is used. If the subject is in first person and the place of action is away from the speaker 'te' is used. The place of action referred here, refer to the place of action identified by the verb in the proposition of the speaker.



|             |                              |
|-------------|------------------------------|
| ño bito.    | 'I gave (something) (in a    |
| I give-p.t. | place proximate to the place |
|             | from where he is making the  |
|             | statement)'                  |

|             |                             |
|-------------|-----------------------------|
| ño bite.    | 'I gave (something) (in a   |
| I give-p.t. | place remote to the place   |
|             | from where he is making the |
|             | statement)'                 |

The distinction of proximate Vs. remote is found only when the subject is in first person and verb is in non-proximal past. Otherwise 'ne' is used to indicate the non-proximal past without making any deictic distinction.

|               |               |
|---------------|---------------|
| mo'ayane.     | 'he was good' |
| he good-p.t.  |               |
| no' bine.     | 'he gave'     |
| you give-p.t. |               |
| mo'lune.      | 'he said'     |
| he say-p.t.   |               |

#### Proximal Past:

An action performed at a period of time that is proximate to the speech act is said to be proximal past. This is unmarked and the verb root alone is used to indicate proximal past.

|         |           |
|---------|-----------|
| ño lu.  | 'I said'  |
| I say   |           |
| mo' bi. | 'he gave' |
| he give |           |
| ño in.  | 'I went'  |
| I go    |           |

|           |             |
|-----------|-------------|
| mo' du.   | 'she stood' |
| she stand |             |

**Non-proximal Future:**

An action to be performed in the distant future in reference to the speech act is said to be non-proximal future. The non-proximal future is marked by 'ci'.

|                  |                    |
|------------------|--------------------|
| no luci.         | 'I will say'       |
| I say-f.t.       |                    |
| mo' kill         | 'he/she will kill' |
| he/she kill-f.t. |                    |
| mo' inci.        | 'he/she will go'   |
| he/she go-f.t.   |                    |

**Proximal Future:**

An action to be started in the proximate future in reference to the speech act is said to be proximal future. 'lyi' is the marker for indicating the proximal future.

|               |                |                  |
|---------------|----------------|------------------|
| <i>PG</i>     | no lulyi.      | 'I will say'     |
|               | I say-p.f.     |                  |
| <i>* - rj</i> | mo' milyi.     | 'she/he will do' |
|               | he do-p.f.     |                  |
|               | mo' ilyi.      | 'he/she will go' |
|               | she/he go-p.f. |                  |

**Aspect**

Aspect denotes the manner in which the action identified by the verb is regarded or experienced.

### Progressive:

The durative nature or continuity of an action is said to be progressive aspect. This may be either past or future. 'do' is added along with the tense marker to indicate the progressive aspect.

|         |                                 |
|---------|---------------------------------|
| ludo    | 'was talking (proximal)'        |
| lulyido | 'will be talking (proximal)'    |
| lunedo  | 'was talking (non-proximal)'    |
| bicido  | 'will be giving (non-proximal)' |
| mido    | 'was doing (proximal)'          |

### Perfect:

An action that is completed is regarded as perfect aspect. 'ku' is added along with the tense marker.

|        |                           |
|--------|---------------------------|
| luneku | 'has said (non-proximal)' |
| biku   | 'has given (proximal)'    |
| miku   | 'has done (proximal)'     |

### Completive:

When the objective of an action is completed, it is regarded as a completive aspect. This refers to the object of the action. For example, when the subject decides to read a book and when he finishes the reading of the entire book, it is deemed as a case of completive aspect. 'ja' is added to the verb to indicate the completive

aspect.

mo'lujane            'he finished reading'  
he finish-asp.-p.t.

mo'o'    mi    bijane  
he beer acc. give-asp.-p.t.  
'he completed the giving of beer'

mo'mijane            'he completed the work'  
he do-asp.-p.t.

Semi-completive:

When half of the objective of an action is performed/completed, it is semi-completive. 'no' is added to the verb to indicate semi-completive aspect.

mino'ne            'did half of it'  
lu'no'ne            'read half of it'  
bi'no'ne            'gave half of it'

Inceptive:

The beginning of an action is said to be inceptive aspect. This is indicated using 'ri'.

birine            'started to give'  
mirine            'began to do'  
lurine            'began to tell'

Habitual:

An action that is repeated almost regularly at regular intervals of time is said to be habitual aspect. This aspect is indicated by the

marker 'nyo' added to the main verb.

|       |                   |
|-------|-------------------|
| minyō | 'work habitually' |
| inyō  | 'go habitually'   |
| lunyō | 'tell habitually' |
| binyō | 'give habitually' |

### Mood

Mood expresses the speaker's attitude towards the performance of the action.

### Willingness:

The willingness on the part of the subject in performing the action is expressed by adding 'nañ' to the main verb.

|                    |                            |
|--------------------|----------------------------|
| ño inañ do.        | 'I am willing to go'       |
| I go-m. exist      |                            |
| mo'menāñ do.       | 'he is willing to kill'    |
| he kill-m. exist   |                            |
| mo'lu bināñ do.    | 'they are willing to give' |
| they give-m. exist |                            |

### Possibility:

The possibility of the occurrence of an action is expressed by adding 'todo/nedo' to the main verb. This is a combination of simple past and the existential verb.

|                      |                    |
|----------------------|--------------------|
| mīdo hunedo.         | 'it may rain'      |
| rain rain-p.t. exist |                    |
| gari anedo.          | 'the bus may come' |
| bus come-p.t. exist  |                    |

no ito do. 'I may go'  
I go-p.t. exist

no lyoto do. 'you may jump'  
you jump-p.t. exist

### Suggestive:

The speaker suggests to do the action collectively alongwith the hearer(s). To express this, 'sa' is added to the verb.

nunu bijeho insa. 'let us go to bazar'  
we bajar-loc. go-m.

nunu alyi mi mensa. 'let us kill the pig'  
we pig-acc. kill-m.

### Capability:

Indicates the ability of the agent in performing the action identified by the verb. 'ken' is added to the verb to indicate this mood.

no putu caken do. 'I can climb the hill'  
I hill climb exist

mo'alyi mi menken do. 'he can kill the pig'  
he pig acc. kill-m. exist

mo'luken do. 'he can tell'  
he tell-m. exist

### Obligation:

Expresses the obligation on the part of the doer of the action in performing the action.

'lo' is added to indicate this mood and is added alongwith the simple future tense.

no micilo. 'I must do'  
I do-f.t.-m.

mo lucilo. 'he must tell'  
he tell-f.t.-m.

no incilo. 'I must go'  
I go-f.t.-m.

### Permissive:

When the hearer is given permission to do the action expressed by the verb, 'ti' is used along with the imperative marker to indicate it. The emphatic marker (?) 'ka' also occurs alongwith it.

inetika '(you) can go'  
menetika '(you) can kill'  
luñetika '(you) can tell'

The negative of this is formed by adding 'yo' alongwith the emphatic marker 'ka'. In such constructions both the imperative marker and the permissive marker are replaced by 'yo' which is also used as prohibitive marker.

iyoka '(you) are not permitted to go'  
meyoka '(you) are not permitted to kill'  
luyoka '(you) are not permitted to tell'

When a third person is given permission, through the hearer (second person) then the man whom permission is granted (third person) will appear as object and 'kineñ' is added to the verb

alongwith the imperative marker 'to'.

mo'mi inkineŋto. 'let him go'  
he acc. go-m.-imp.

mo'mi alyi mi jobikineŋto.  
he acc. pig acc. take-m.-imp.  
'let him take the pig'

mo'mi lukineŋto. 'let him tell'  
he acc. tell-m.-imp.

The negative is formed by replacing 'to' by 'yo'.  
Hence the permissive marker does not undergo any  
change as in the earlier case.

mo'mi lakineŋyo. 'don't allow him to  
he acc. take-m.-neg. take'

mo'mi inkineŋyo. 'don't allow him to go'  
he acc. go-m.-neg.

mo'mi lukineŋyo. 'don't allow him to  
he acc. tell-m.-neg. tell'

When someone wants to get permission for a third  
person, then the interrogative is formed by add-  
ing 'pe a' in the place of 'to'. In natural  
conversation, 'pe a' is realized as 'pya'.

'pe a' occurs alongwith the non-proximal future  
as seen in the following examples.

mo'mi inkineŋcipya?  
he acc. go-m.-f.t.-int.  
'do (you) allow him to go'

mo'mi lukineŋcipya?  
he acc. tell-m.-s.f.t.-int.  
'do (you) allow him to tell'



mo'mi bikineñcipya?  
 he acc. give-m.-s.f.t.int.  
 'do (you) allow him to give'

When the request is made in first person, 'pe' alone is added with the permissive marker. The word - ice 'little' is used to indicate politeness.

ñimi ice inkinempe. 'may I go'  
 I-acc. little go-m.-int.

ñimi ice lukinempe. 'may I tell'  
 I-acc. little tell-m.-int.

ñimi ice mikinempe. 'may I do (it)'  
 I-acc. little do-m.-int.

### Imperative

The imperative sentence is that which expresses command or instruction and it is associated with second person. In Apatani two forms are used to form imperatives. When the hearer is in proximity or the proposed place of action is in proximity (with reference to the speaker) when 'to' is added to the verb to form imperative.

yasi bito 'give water (proximate)'  
 water give-imp.

apiñ dito 'eat rice (proximate)'  
 rice eat-imp.

o' tanto 'drink beer (proximate)'  
 beer drink-imp.

When the hearer is away from the speaker or the proposed place of action is away from the speaker, then 'ne' is added to the verb to form imperative.

|       |           |                       |
|-------|-----------|-----------------------|
| yasi  | biñe      | 'give water (remote)' |
| water | give-imp. |                       |

|      |          |                     |
|------|----------|---------------------|
| apiñ | diñe     | 'eat rice (remote)' |
| rice | eat-imp. |                     |

|      |            |                       |
|------|------------|-----------------------|
| o'   | tañe       | 'drink beer (remote)' |
| beer | drink-imp. |                       |

To express politeness, the adverb - ice 'little' is used and it appears before the verb.

|        |          |              |
|--------|----------|--------------|
| ice    | di-to    | 'please eat' |
| little | eat-imp. |              |

|        |         |             |
|--------|---------|-------------|
| ice    | miñe    | 'please do' |
| little | do-imp. |             |

When requests are made for things/for action and if the result of it is directly concerning the speaker, then 'pe' is added to the verb to form imperatives. Here also, the proximate, remote contrast is maintained. If it is proximate to the speaker, then it is unmarked, because 'pe' does not give any signal regarding deixis.

|      |                                |
|------|--------------------------------|
| bipe | 'give me (for me) (proximate)' |
|------|--------------------------------|

|        |                                |
|--------|--------------------------------|
| lukope | 'tell me (for me) (proximate)' |
|--------|--------------------------------|

If the hearer or place of action is away from the speaker and the result of the action is concerning the speaker himself it is expressed using the respective markers 'yu' (for remoteness)

and 'pe' (for the benefactor of the action).

biyupe 'give me (for me) (remote)'

lukoyupe 'tell me (for me) (remote)'

### Prohibitive

This is used to prohibit the hearer from an action, he is to engage in. This is marked by adding 'yo' to the verb. No contrast on proximity Vs. remoteness is maintained in prohibitives.

miyo 'don't do'

luyo 'don't tell'

biyo 'don't give'

### Interrogative

The interrogative may be either a yes/no question or wh-question. The yes/no questions are formed by adding 'ha' to the end of a sentence, which is a statement.

ude ho alyi da ha?

house loc. pig exist int.

'are there pigs in the house'

ude ho alyi nyima ha?

house loc. pig no int.

'are there no pigs in the house'

sikasi nika ude ha?

this your house int.

'is this your house'

no' aji ho midu ha?

you field loc. work-exist int.

'do you work in the paddy field'

Wh - questions are formed using the interrogative pronouns (See, section on pronouns) as in the examples below:

in̄ka myu si hu? 'who is that man'  
that man det. who

huna n̄ika ajīn? 'who is your friend'  
who you friend

n̄ika armyān n̄i h̄ila?  
your name what quo.  
'what is your name'

n̄ih̄i n̄ika ude? 'which is your house'  
which your house

no' n̄ido aku? 'when did you come'  
you when come-per.

no' noho inte? 'where did you go'  
you where go-p.t.

nitampa mo ane'? 'how did he come'  
how he come-p.t.

n̄ihe barmi do n̄iki?  
how many sisters exist you-pos.  
'how many sisters you have'

humi no' dante he? 'whom did you beat'  
whom you beat-p.t. int.

sika poṭa si huki? 'whose book is this'  
this book det. whose

n̄ihe yasi do inso?  
how much water exist there  
'how much water is there'

hupa sika pensil si at̄it̄i?  
for whom this pencil det. keep-p.t.  
'for whom are you keeping this  
pencil'

hukokɪ sika redio si jobiti?  
 from who this radio det. buy-p.t.  
 'from who you bought this radio'

huka aginho no' apiñ didu?  
 who-pos. with you rice eat-exist  
 'with whom you take rice'

nilo no' sani tidu?  
 with what you tree cut-exist  
 'with what you cut the tree'

nohokɪ no' si mi lati?  
 from where you cattle acc. catch-p.t.  
 'where did you catch the cattle'

### Tag Questions

Tag questions are formed by adding certain string of words at the end of the statements. If the statement is in the positive, a negative form also will appear in the tag question part.

The string

hila ma ha éna  
 quo. neg. que. tag

is added at the end, when the statement is in positive.

mo'myu aya ako, hila ma ha éna?  
 he man good one quo. neg. que. tag.  
 'he is a good man, isn't he'

no' ado, hila ma ha éna?  
 you come-exist quo. neg. que. tag.  
 'you are coming, aren't you'

mo'ine, hila ma ha éna?  
 he go-p.t. quo. neg. que. tag.  
 'he went, didn't he?'

When the preceding statement is in negative, in the following tag question part the negative will not appear and the string used in such instance is

hila peya  
quo. tag.

no' adima hila peya?  
you come-neg. quo. tag  
'you are not coming, are you'

mo' ima hila peya?  
he go-neg. quo. tag  
'he did not go, did he'

We have already seen the yes/no questions. When they are answered either in negative or affirmative, an indicative (statement) follows it as in the following:

mo'oho do ha? 'is he tall/'  
he tall exist quo.

in, mo'oho do. 'yes, he is tall'  
yes he tall exists

ma, mo'oho ma. 'no, he is not tall'  
no he tall neg.

mo'oho ma ha? 'is he not tall'  
he tall neg. quo

in, no'oho ma. 'yes, he is not tall'  
yes, he tall neg.

ma, mo'oho do. 'no, he is tall'  
neg. he tall exist

so aki du ha? 'is the dog here'  
here dog exist que.

nyima, so aki nyima.  
 neg. here dog neg.  
 'no, there is no dog here'

hila ha 'is it like that'  
 quo. que.

in hila 'yes, it is'  
 yes quo.

### Negation

Negative sentences are formed using either the negative verb 'ma' or 'nyima'. The selection of them is decided by the verb occurring with it. NP-NP sentences are negated by adding 'ma' at the end of the sentence whereas existential sentences are negated using 'nyima'.

inka nyimi si nika ajiñ ma.  
 that lady det. my friend neg.  
 'that lady is not my friend'

insi alyi ma.  
 this pig neg.  
 'this is not a pig'

mo'aya ma.  
 he good neg.  
 'he is not good'

mo'aya mane.  
 he good no-p.t.  
 'he was not good'

alyi ati ma.  
 pig small neg.  
 'pig is not small'

more ho kile nyima.  
 forest loc. river neg.  
 'there are no rivers in the forest'

mo'ki aki nyima.  
 he pos. dog neg.  
 'he has no dog'

When a verb is present in the sentences the negative is formed by adding 'ma' to the main verb of the sentence. In such cases, the tense marker follows the negative.

inka nyimi hi myu mi latumane.  
 that woman det. man acc. catch-neg.-p.t.  
 'that woman did not catch the man'

mo'imimane.  
 he sleep-neg.-p.t.  
 'he did not sleep'

mo'bimane.  
 he give-neg.-p.t.  
 'he did not give'

### Interjection

Interjections are purely emotive words which have no referential content. It is occasionally used to initiate an utterance. The interjections are listed below:

'kije' is used to draw the attention of the hearer. This usually occurs with suggestive constructions.

kije, alyi mi mensa. 'come on, let us  
 int. pig acc. kill-sug. kill the pig'



kije o' tansa. 'come on, let us  
int. beer drink-sug. drink beer'

kije jiro ho insa. 'come on let us to  
int. Ziro loc. go-sug. to Ziro'

'i' is used by the speaker to express his surprise.

'in' is used by the hearer to respond to the speaker when engaged in conversation.

'a' is used to express disappointment when he is unsuccessful in his endeavour and when something is lost.

'a' is used by the speaker to get response from the hearer.

### Adverb

There are sentential adverbs and non-sentential adverbs that are contrasted at the morphological level. The sentential adverb which qualifies the sentential proposition is marked by 'da' whereas the non-sentential adverbs are marked by 'pa'. The adverb markers are added to quality verbs (verbs that describes the quality of a person or thing like - aya 'nice') to form adverbs.

oyipada 'suddenly'

kiranda 'frequently'

|        |          |
|--------|----------|
| kamipa | 'lastly' |
|--------|----------|

|        |        |
|--------|--------|
| hibapa | 'next' |
|--------|--------|

**Manner Adverb:**

This indicates the manner of an action being performed.

|       |          |
|-------|----------|
| ayapa | 'nicely' |
|-------|----------|

|          |           |
|----------|-----------|
| nyibyapa | 'quickly' |
|----------|-----------|

**Time Adverb:**

This indicates the time of action or the occurrence of an event identified by the verb. In the following, items are listed that are used to indicate temporal locations. When they occur in combination with other items, the initial vowel is deleted.

|     |           |
|-----|-----------|
| aro | 'morning' |
|-----|-----------|

|     |       |
|-----|-------|
| alo | 'day' |
|-----|-------|

|      |           |
|------|-----------|
| alin | 'evening' |
|------|-----------|

|     |         |
|-----|---------|
| ayo | 'night' |
|-----|---------|

|       |        |
|-------|--------|
| anyan | 'year' |
|-------|--------|

When the temporal reference is made to that day on which speech act takes place, then, - si 'this' is prefixed to the above items, the word initial vowel of the following word is deleted as a result of fusion of elements.

|      |                    |
|------|--------------------|
| silo | 'today (this day)' |
|------|--------------------|

|      |                                |
|------|--------------------------------|
| siro | 'today morning (this morning)' |
|------|--------------------------------|

|        |                                |
|--------|--------------------------------|
| siliñ  | 'today evening (this evening)' |
| siyo   | 'today night (this night)'     |
| sinyañ | 'this year'                    |

When the temporal reference is to a day just previous to the day of speech act, then 'bi' is prefixed to the above items. As a result of the fusion, the word initial vowel is deleted.

|        |                                   |
|--------|-----------------------------------|
| bilo   | 'yesterday (previous day)'        |
| biro   | 'last morning (previous morning)' |
| bilin  | 'last evening (previous evening)' |
| biyo   | 'last night (previous night)'     |
| binyañ | 'last year (previous year)'       |

It is also possible to form participial constructions like the following:

|                   |       |              |
|-------------------|-------|--------------|
| inekunĩ           | anya  | 'last year'  |
| go-p.t.-asp.-nom. | year  |              |
| inekunĩ           | pĩlo  | 'last month' |
| go-p.t.-asp.-nom. | month |              |

When the temporal reference is to a day just after the day of speech act then 'arda' is used. Here 'arda' itself stands for 'tomorrow' and unlike the other forms discussed just above, further specifications is made adding them with the genitive form of 'arda'. But deletion of the genitive marker is optional.

|               |                    |
|---------------|--------------------|
| arda          | 'tomorrow'         |
| arda (ka) aro | 'tomorrow morning' |

arda (ka) alin 'tomorrow evening'

arda (ka) aye 'tomorrow night'

The form 'konda' also is used in the meaning 'tomorrow morning'. When reference is made to a day that is two days back of the day of speech act, then 'ko' is prefixed to indicate it.

kolo 'day before yesterday'

koro 'day before yesterday morning'

kolin 'day before yesterday evening'

koye 'day before yesterday night'

konyan 'year before last'

When the reference is made to a day that is three days back of the day of speech act, then numeral - loye 'one (with classifier)' is used and the references to other days are numbered taking - kolo 'day before yesterday' as the reference point. See the illustrations below:

kolo loye 'one day before - kolo'

kolo loyini 'two days before - kolo'

kolo lohinini 'three days before - kolo'

konyannya 'one year before - konyan'

In the above, as mentioned already, the classifier is formed by duplicating the word final syllable of the lexical item. When the reference is made to a day two days ahead of the day of speech act, then 'rida' is used, and when it is

added with other elements, the genitive marker appears with it. The genitive marker can be deleted optionally.

|                |                              |
|----------------|------------------------------|
| rida           | 'day after tomorrow'         |
| rida (ka) aro  | 'day after tomorrow morning' |
| rida (ka) alin | 'day after tomorrow evening' |
| rida (ka) ayo  | 'day after tomorrow night'   |

The days ahead of three days of speech act are numbered taking - rida 'day after tomorrow' as the reference point. 'ri' is added with the numerals.

|      |                           |
|------|---------------------------|
| ribo | 'one day after - rida'    |
| ripo | 'two days after - rida'   |
| riño | 'three days after - rida' |

When the above appear in sentences, the adverb marker 'da' is added to them as in the following:

|        |                        |
|--------|------------------------|
| riboda | 'one day after - rida' |
| ripoda | 'to days after - rida' |

There are certain other temporal items that are used in Apatani. They are listed below:

|               |                              |
|---------------|------------------------------|
| alyini        | 'next year'                  |
| dirada        | 'next year'                  |
| lonyaṇda      | 'year after next'            |
| lonyaṇ habada | 'one year after -lonyaṇ'     |
| nyapi anyanda | 'two years after - lonyaṇ'   |
| nyaño anyanda | 'three years after - lonyaṇ' |

|                 |  |
|-----------------|--|
| alyini pilo     | 'next month'   |
| sisi            | 'now'  |
| pijyoda         | 'then'   |
| alo lipa        | 'noon'   |
| aji alin        | 'time for going to paddy field (8.30 a.m. - 9. a.m.)'        |
| apinpicanmidi   | 'time to cook rice of evening (3 p.m. - 4 p.m.)'             |
| ajini ado       | 'time of coming back from the paddy field (5 p.m. - 6 p.m.)' |
| alo apindidu    | 'lunch time'   |
| paro rone honi  | 'first crowing of the cock'                                  |
| paro ronye honi | 'second crowing of the cock'                                 |

Other instances of the use of temporal constructions are as in the following:

myoko pijya      pilo bare yepa midu.  
Myoko festival month-one-adv. do-exist  
'Myoko festival lasted for one month'

mo'so      loho yepa dite.  
he here five days stay-p.t.  
'he stayed here for five days'

mo' pijyoda      alyido.  
he afterwards come-fut.-exist  
'he will come afterwards'

mo' ano      kamipa      apin dine.  
he very late adv. rice eat-p.t.  
'he ate rice very late'

no anyi bajilyiyepa      imidalyi.  
I two hour-till-adv. sleep-exist-fut.  
'I will sleep until 2 O'clock'

mo' alin hiba ho imiti.  
 he evening tep.m. loc. sleep-p.t.  
 'he slept after evening'

mo' o' tala so ane.  
 he beer drink-temp. here come-p.t.  
 'he came here after drinking beer'

mo' uyi bone lulala ine.  
 he story one tell-temp. go-p.t.  
 'he went after telling a story'

no móka alyikuyepa imitalyi.  
 I he-gen. come-temp. sleep-fut.  
 'I will sleep until he comes'

mo' dumi mi nyibyayapa more ho ine.  
 he Dumi acc. early-adv. forest loc. go-p.t.  
 'he went to forest earlier than Dumi'

#### Numeral Adverb:

Two-way distinction is maintained in numeral adverbs of Apatani. When the numerals indicates the number of events without counting the number in an individual action, then 'ro' is added as the classifier to the numeral. When the repetition of action in an event is counted 'u' is added to the numeral as classifier. For instance, in a particular action like kicking, stamping, etc., if the number of kicks, etc., are counted (involved in one and the same event) then 'ú' is used. On the other hand if the events of kicking as instances are counted 'ro' is used.

mo' kago mi unye kibine.  
 he Kago acc. twice kick-p.t.  
 'he kicked Kago twice (i.e., two kicks at  
 the same time)'

mo'so roñe ate.  
 he here once come-p.t.  
 'he came here once'

When the action of somebody is stated in relation to another, then the adverb marker 'pa' is added to the numeral

mo' anyinipa ine.  
 he second-adv. go-p.t.  
 'he went second'

## Word Formation

### Compounds:

Compound words are formed by combining words in certain order. The word may have different syntactic relationship that can be captured by identifying the underlying relationship. A sample is given below:

#### Subject-Predicate Relation -

|                 |                 |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| yalañjinibo     | 'rolling stone' |
| stone roll-nom. |                 |

#### Noun-Noun Construction -

|              |             |
|--------------|-------------|
| pica paku    | 'utensils'  |
| plate saucer |             |
| yasi pinta   | 'water pot' |
| water pot    |             |



Subject-Locative -

|             |                      |
|-------------|----------------------|
| ude kubu    | 'rat of the house'   |
| house rat   |                      |
| kile ni     | 'fish of the river'  |
| river fish  |                      |
| more sanì   | 'tree of the jungle' |
| forest tree |                      |

Object-Instrument -

|            |                |
|------------|----------------|
| santa ude  | 'wooden house' |
| wood house |                |

Object-Predicate -

|             |                 |
|-------------|-----------------|
| yasi sili   | 'water carrier' |
| water carry |                 |

Object-Purposive -

|             |                        |
|-------------|------------------------|
| paro asi    | 'cage/box for keeping  |
| fowl cage   | fowl'                  |
| aki asi     | 'cage/box for keeping  |
| dog cage    | dog'                   |
| émpyañ sùdu | 'box to keep the rice' |
| rice box    |                        |

Possessive-Headnoun -

|              |                       |
|--------------|-----------------------|
| si yo        | 'beef'                |
| cattle meat  |                       |
| ude tuli     | 'pillar of the house' |
| house pillar |                       |
| ude xoncañ   | 'corner of the house' |
| house corner |                       |

Nouns Derived from Verb Roots:

Action nouns are derived in Apatani from

the verb roots by adding the suffix 'nɪn' to them. This is a very productive and regular process by which action nouns are formed from verb roots.

|       |           |
|-------|-----------|
| anɪn  | 'coming'  |
| inɪn  | 'going'   |
| lunɪn | 'talking' |
| minɪn | 'doing'   |

#### Nouns Derived from Case Relations:

Certain nouns are derived in Apatani from items that inherently show certain case relations like agent, instrumental, locative, etc. They are discussed separately below:

##### Agentive Noun:-

In Apatani agentive nouns are formed by adding 'nɪ' to the verb root. It indicates the doer of the action. When 'nɪ' is added, we get a generic noun. If it is to be specified 'bo' is added to the generic noun.

|         |   |
|---------|---|
| ajiminɪ | 'farmer (one who works in the paddy field)' |
| purinɪ  | 'student (one who reads)'                   |
| inibo   | 'one who went (specified)'                  |
| anibo   | 'one who came (specified)'                  |
| adonibo | 'one who is coming (specified)'             |

### Instrumental Noun:-

Instrumental nouns are formed by adding 'na' to the verb root followed by 'ni'. It indicates the instrument that is used in the action and hence gets a new semantic content.

- inini *ni* 'walking stick (the one used to walk)'
- ipini *ni* 'broom (the one that is used to sweep)'
- dani *ni* 'stick (the one that is used to beat)'

### Locative Nouns:-

Locative nouns identify the place of action identified by the verb. When 'ko' is added to the verb root, it gets converted into a noun that indicates the place of action.

- luko 'place where talking took place'
- miko 'place where action took place'
- diko 'place where eating took place'
- biko 'place where giving took place'

### Objective Nouns:-

Objective nouns indicate the objects involved in the action. It is formed by - ko 'place noun' and 'bo' the specifier.

- dikobo 'the one that was eaten'
- takobo 'the one that was drank'

Dative Nouns:-

Dative nouns indicate the benefactor of the action and it is also formed by the same way as objective nouns are formed by adding 'kobo'.

bikobo      'one to whom (something) is given'

mikobo      'one to whom (something) is done'

Experiencer Nouns:-

Experiencer identifies the one who experiences the action. This is formed by adding 'bo' to the verb root.

hayabo      'one who is hungry'

- - - -

## SYNTAX

Apatani is SOV language. The word order in a sentence is as follows:

Subject occurs in the sentence initial position.

Object follows the subject and precedes the verb.

Verb occurs in the sentence final position.

The cases like dative, instrumental, locative, sociative, purposive, ablative, etc., will precede the verb. Since the cases are morphologically marked in Apatani, the word order in a sentence is free.

There are constructions with nominal predicates and verbal predicates. The existential sentences make use of the existential verbs. A sample is given below:

### Sentences with Nominal Predicates:

|               |      |                      |
|---------------|------|----------------------|
| yalyo saru    | ako. | 'Yalyo is a teacher' |
| Yalyo teacher | a    |                      |

|                |                    |
|----------------|--------------------|
| mo'lu ajimini. | 'they are farmers' |
| they farmer    |                    |

|               |                   |
|---------------|-------------------|
| mo' nika aba. | 'he is my father' |
| he my father  |                   |

inka nyimi si nika ajiñ.  
 that woman det. my friend  
 'that woman is my friend'

When qualifying verbs are used in a sentence,  
 the existential verb also occurs with it.

myu si jantu do.  
 man det. fat exist  
 'the man is fat'

inka alyi si atu do.  
 that pig det. small exist  
 'that pig is small'

#### Existential Sentences:

more ho kile do.  
 forest loc. river exist  
 'there are rivers in the forest'

nika abañ ki mihi hiñehe du.  
 I-gen. elder brother pos. wife three exist  
 'my elder brother has three wives'

inso putu puro puve do.  
 here mountain big one exist  
 'here is a big mountain'

#### Sentences with Verb Predicates:

nika ani nimi gyone.  
 my mother I-acc. call-p.t.  
 'my mother called me'

si hi mo' mi ali tubune.  
 cattle det. he acc. leg kick-p.t.  
 'the cattle kicked him'

no mo' mi pulye bare bito.  
 I he dat. cloth one give-p.t.  
 'I gave him cloth'

mólu patí mi aji ho membune.  
they tiger acc. field loc. kill-p.t.

'they killed the tiger in the paddy field'

As mentioned already, the word order is free in a sentence in Apatani. But, order is changed so as to focus on the topic of the proposition in the utterance. Usually the noun phrase on which focus falls appear in the sentence initial position. In the following, the same sentence is given by changing the word order to illustrate how focus changes, when word order changes.

áni hime mi ude ho o' bibine.  
mother child dat. house loc. beer give-p.t.

ude ho hime mi áni o' bibine.

hime mi áni ude ho o' bibine.

ude ho áni hime mi o' bibine.

áni o hime mi ude ho bibine.

'mother gave beer to the child in the house'

When natural force, calamity, etc., are the causes for the action identified by the verb, the object takes the sentence initial position followed by the subject.

emomi tarh rilorijabine.  
paddy acc. snowfall destroy-asp.-p.t.  
'the snow fall destroyed the paddy'

nyimi mi gyopu goxi bine.  
woman acc. lightening kill-p.t.  
'the lightening killed the woman'

When the object is specified (i.e., the range of reference is restricted) it is brought immediately after the subject and in addition the accusative case sign 'mi' is added to it. Otherwise, the normal order is

Subject-Dative-Accusative-Verb.

no alyi mi    yo    ohoti.  
 I pig acc. meat feed-p.t.  
 'I fed the pig with meat'

no yo    mi    alyi mi    ohoti.  
 I meat acc. pig acc. feed-p.t.  
 'I fed meat (specified) to pig'

### Noun Phrase

The noun phrase may consist of the headnoun and the other optional elements that modify the headnoun. When the numeral adjective and another modifier are present, the modifier follows the headnoun followed by the numeral adjective. If the case marker is present it occurs at the end of the noun phrase. But the word order is not rigid in a noun phrase, the modifier can precede the head, though it is not common. If the intensifier is present, it immediately follows the head noun followed by other elements. The first element in a noun phrase gets more emphasis than the other elements. Determiners precede the case sign and follow all other elements present



in a noun phrase. A representative sample is given below:

aki ano aya kone si  
dog very good one det.

ano aya aki kone si  
very good dog one det.

'a very good dog'

ude ano neti ako so  
house very new loc.

ano neti ude ako so  
ude ako ano neti so

'in a very new house'

When the demonstratives and genitives are used, they precede the headnoun.

sika nyimi 'this woman'  
this woman

hika myu 'that (invisible) man'  
that man

inka alyi 'that (remote) pig'  
that pig

mo'ka ude 'his house'  
he gen. house

### Verb Phrase

The verb phrase consists of the verb and other noun phrase(s). The occurrence of cases like accusative, dative, locative, instrumental, ablative, purposive, etc., are dictated by the nature of the verb. See the illustrations where

sentences consisting of noun phrases with different case relations are listed

mo' imine.                    'he slept'  
he sleep-p.t.

aki pine.                    'the dog barked'  
dog bark-p.t.

mo'ka    aba    mo'mi    gabine.  
he gen. father he acc. scold-p.t.  
'his father scolded him'

nika anu        nimi    si    dore    mombiti.  
my    brother I-dat. cow one    send-p.t.  
'younger brother sent me a cow'

kago more    ho    sine.  
Kago forest loc. die-p.t.  
'Kago died in the forest'

yalyo turla ho    o'    to'bine.  
Yalyo mug    loc. beer pour-p.t.  
Yalyo poured beer in the mug'

pita sani hao    ho    dudu.  
bird tree above loc. sit-exist  
'birds are sitting on the tree'

mo' sani mi    yaxu lo    tibine.  
he tree acc. axe inst. cut-p.t.  
'he cut the tree with an axe'

mo'bije    lo    ude    mibine.  
he bamboo inst. house make-p.t.  
'he made the house with bamboo'

madu    ude    hoki kago aginho imbone.  
Madu house    abl. Kago soc.    go-p.t.  
'Madu left the house with Kago'

tade sani hoki ahi purbine.  
 Tadde tree abl. fruit pluck-p.t.  
 'Tadde plucked fruit from the tree'

The case markers indicate the grammatical relations of the noun phrases in the sentence. So the order of elements in the verb phrase is free. When adverbs occur in a sentence, they precede the verb.

mo'ano kamipa apiñ dine.  
 he very late-adv. rice eat-p.t.  
 'he ate rice very late'

no anyi bajilyiyepa imidalyi.  
 I two hour-adv. sleep-fut.  
 'I will sleep until 2 O'clock'

## Conjunction

### NP Conjunction:

Conjunction may be either noun phrase conjunction or sentential conjunction. In the case of noun phrase conjunction, two or more nouns are conjoined to form a noun phrase. In Apatani, when there are only two nouns, the conjoined marker 'nyi' is added to both the nouns occurring in that noun phrase.

nyininyi himenyi 'boy and girl'  
 girl-conj. boy-conj.

yalyonyi tadenyi 'Yalyo and Tadde'  
 Yalyo-conj. Tadde-conj.

alyinyi akinyi 'pig and dog'  
 pig-conj. dog-conj.

Another conjoined marker 'la' also is used in Apatani, in addition to the 'nyi'. The conjoined marker 'la' which can occur with every noun in the conjoined noun phrase is used when there are more nouns in the conjoined Noun Phrase. But all the 'la' marking except in the final noun can be deleted optionally. There are instances where 'hela' is used in the place 'la' with the meaning that they are mixed and not separate groups.

nyimi (hela) hime hela  
 'boy and girl'

yalyo (la) tadela  
 'Yalyo and Tadde'

yalyo, yabo, yalar la  
 'Yalyo, Yabo and Yalar'

yalyo, yabo, yalar ho tade la  
 'Yalyo, Yabo, Yalar and Tadde'

#### Sentence Conjunction:

Conjunction is that process by which two or more sentences are conjoined to transform them into a single sentence. In Apatani, this is done using the conjoining marker 'ho'

(a) yami poisa labine ho yari pulye  
 Yami paise take-p.t. and Yari cloth

labine.

take-p.t.

'Yami took money and Yari clothes'

(b) taki bisine ho talañ nasusone.

Taki sing-p.t. and Talang dance-p.t.

'Taki sang and Talang danced'

Sentences of the above type can be related to sentences below;

(c.i) yami poisa labine.

Yami paisa take-p.t.

'Yami took paise'

(c.ii) yari pulye labine.

Yari cloth take-p.t.

'Yari took cloth'

Sentence (a) is derived by the process of conjunction from the component sentences (c.i) and (c.ii). Similarly the component sentences of (b) are also simple sentences like (c).

Disjunctive constructions are formed using the 'jalo' added to the elements.

mo' jalo tagru jalo adyido.

he disj. Tagru disj. come-exist

'he or Tagru will come'

no' ñimi akimi jalo ami mi jalo

you me dog-acc. disj. cat acc. disj.

bipe.

give-imp.

'you give me cat or dog'

When verbs are disjoined, another verb will also appear in the sentence final position. There are

a set of verbs that can take the final position. They are - mi 'do', du 'exist', etc. They function as empty verbs since they do not effect any meaning change. Their function is limited and the tense marker occur with them.

ño imilajalo purilajalo mici.  
 I sleep-disj. read-disj. do-fut.  
 'I shall sleep or read'

mo' bisilajalo nasujalo soci.  
 he sing-disj. dance-disj. empty-v.fut.  
 'he will sing or dance'

### Embedding

Embedding is that process by which one sentence is embedded as a constituent in another sentence. Relative clauses are derived by embedding the constituent sentence as a constituent of the Noun Phrase of the matrix sentence. So there is a source sentence for every relative clause. When we examine the component sentences of a relative clause, we can see identical noun phrases which are coreferential. In the syntactic process, one of them (i.e., the constituent NP) is deleted. The truncated sentence functions as an attribute to the headnoun. Such attributes always precede the headnoun while other attributes follow the headnoun.

kagoka      tuni      myu  
 Kago-gen. kick-nom. man  
 'the man whom Kago kicked'

Another characteristic found in Apatani relativization is the use of genitive marker 'ka'. When the subject noun phrase is relativized, 'ka' - the genitive marker - occurs with the object noun phrase in addition to the accusative marker already present with it. Besides, the embedded verb is nominalized resulting in an appositive construction.

no si      mi      ka      panibo      myu mi  
 I cattle acc. gen. cut-nom. man acc.

kapato.

see-p.t.

'I saw the man who killed the cattle'

alyi mi      ka      lanibo      nyimi hi      aya  
 pig acc. gen. catch-nom. woman det. good

do,

exist

'the woman who caught the pig is good'

When the range of reference is restricted (i.e., when a noun is specified) 'bo' is added to the nominalized embedded verb. (In the process of relativization the embedded verb is nominalized by adding 'ni'). This specification is found only when the subject is relativized. Since the embedded verb is nominalized, the headnoun is

usually deleted, when it is specified.

mo'hime mi ka danibo mi kapabine.  
 he child acc. gen. beat-nom. acc. show-p.t.  
 'he showed the (woman) who beat the child'

When the object noun is relativized, the genitive marker is added to the embedded subject.

mólu kago ka taní myu mi kapabine.  
 they Kago gen. kick-nom. man-acc. see-p.t.  
 'they saw the man whom Kago kicked'

mólu ñika labine alyi mi  
 they I-gen. bring-nom. pig acc.

medo a?  
 search-exist int.

'did they search for the pig that I brought'

The adding of genitive marker to the embedded subject is noticed with those relative clauses that are derived by relativising dative noun phrase.

ño móka pota biní nyimi mi  
 I he-gen. book give-nom. woman acc.

kapato.

see-p.t.

'I saw the woman to whom he gave the book'

ñika digotaño biní alyi mi mo'  
 I-gen. food give-nom. pig acc. he

latubine.

catch-p.t.

'he caught the pig to which I gave food'

ño nyimi ka siti biní milobo mi  
 I woman gen. letter give-nom. man acc.



kapato.

see-p.t.

'I met the man whom the woman sent a letter'

When locative noun phrases are relativized, the locative noun 'ko' is added to the embedded verb to nominalize it. The embedded subject takes the genitive case marker.

móka      ińko      lem̥ba      mi      ńo kapato.  
he-gen. go-loc. village acc. I see-p.t.  
'I saw the village where he went'

ńika      duko      sańxo mo' dune.  
I-gen. sit-loc. cot he sit-p.t.  
'he sat on the cot on which I sat'

When instrumental nouns are relativized, the marker 'nan̥i' (See, the section on word formation) is added to the embedded verb to convert it into a noun. The embedded subject takes the genitive marker.

ńika      pan̥inani      ilyo mi      mo'  
I-gen. cut-inst.nom. sword acc. he  
biti.  
bring-p.t.  
'he brought the sword with which I cut'

#### Complementation:

Only NP complements are found in Apatani. In this process a sentence is embedded as a complement to the noun. The complementizer 'h̥ila' is inserted before the head noun in the process of complementation.

yalyo jiro ho aki do hila pyu mi  
 Yalyo Ziro loc. reach-exist quo.news acc  
 no cindu.  
 I know-exist  
 'I know the news that Yalyo reached Ziro'

### Nominalization:

We have already seen that verbs can be converted to nouns by adding nominalizer 'ni' to the verbs (See, section on word formation). Sentences also can be nominalized by adding the nominalizer to the verb and adding genitive marker to the subject noun. There are certain parallels between relativization and nominalization in Apatani.

*genitive  
subjects  
on  
nominalized  
clauses*

|                        |           |            |
|------------------------|-----------|------------|
| móka                   | alyi      | latuni     |
| he-gen.                | pig       | catch-nom. |
| 'his catching the pig' |           |            |
| móka                   | akuni     |            |
| he-gen.                | come-nom. |            |
| 'his coming'           |           |            |

### Purposive Clause Constructions:

There are instances where sentences are embedded as purposive clauses. In the process, the purposive marker 'pa' is added to the embedded verb and the embedded sentence is transformed to a noun phrase.

mólu sinima katepa ine.  
 they film see-pur.go-p.t.  
 'they went to witness the film'

mo'hime mi gotepa ine.  
 he child acc. take-pur. go-p.t.  
 'he went to take the child'

si lupa  
 this say-pur.  
 'this is for saying'

sikasi mempa  
 this kill-pur.  
 'it is for killing'

no alyi mi mempa.  
 I pig acc. kill-pur.  
 'I am for killing the pig'

### Comparative Constructions

The comparatives (that indicates the resemblances of objects or actions) are formed by adding 'cikañ' to the one with which something else is compared.

mo'hime cikañ xedu.  
 he child like cry-exist  
 'he cries like a child'

mo'luca cikañ indu.  
 he lame man like walk-exist  
 'he walks like a lame man'

dumi yalyo cikañ oho do.  
 Dumi Yalyo like tall exist  
 'Dumi is tall like Yalyo'

### Degrees of Comparison:

Different markers are used to form comparative and superlative degrees of comparison.

The comparative degree constructions are

formed by adding the accusative marker followed by the comparative degree indicator 'tri' to the one with which the other is compared.

dumi yalyo mi tri ayayapa bisido.  
 Dumí Yalyo acc. com. good-adv. sing-exist  
 'Dumi sings better than Yalyo'

aki hi ami mi tri nibyapa hardo.  
 dog det. cat acc. com. fast-adv. run-exist  
 'the dog runs faster than the cat'

When qualificatory verbs are used in comparative degree constructions, a separate verb 'ya' is added at the end of the sentence following the qualificatory verb.

mado rinyo mi kapyo yado.  
 Mado Rinyo acc. see-good verb-exist  
 'Mado is more beautiful than Rinyo'

inka sani mi siksa sani si oho  
 that tree acc. this tree det. tall  
 yado.  
 verb-exist  
 'that tree is taller than this tree'

#### The Superlative Degree Construction:

The superlative degree construction is formed by adding the verb 'ja' following the qualificatory verb.

yasin kapyo jado.  
 Yasing see-good verb-exist  
 'Yasing is the most beautiful'  
 inka sani si oho jado.  
 that tree det. tall verb-exist  
 'that tree is the tallest'

### Conditional Clauses

Conditional sentences involve two sentences, (1) the sentence that contains the conditional proposition is converted into a conditional clause and (2) the occurrence of the proposition in the other sentence (the one other than the conditional clause) depends on the accomplishment of the condition given in the conditional clause. Apatani makes use of the marker 'koda' to form conditional clause. It is added to the conditional verb and usually the conditional clause takes the sentence initial position.

alyi akoda            mo' latibinedo.  
 pig come-cond. he catch-tense  
 'if pig comes, he will catch (it)'

no' amakoda            no intema.  
 you come-neg.-cond. I go-tense-neg.  
 'if you do not come, I will not go'

no' dute            ma koda mo inekudo.  
 you sit-tense neg.-cond. he go-tense  
 'if you do not sit, he will go'

### Concessive

They are formed from the underlying complex structures. The concessive appears in the sentence initial position. The concessive marker is inserted in between the component sentences. The component sentences appear as such.

mo' ajimisune          hojalopa ajimanu  
 he cultivate-p.t. conce.    yield  
 jimine.  
 go-neg.-p.t.  
 'even though he cultivated paddy he could  
 not get good yield'

mo' mi    aki mi    bibisine hojalopa mo'  
 he acc. dog acc. give-p.t. conce.    he  
 hembyobima.  
 be happy-neg.  
 'even though he gave him a dog, he was not  
 happy'

### Causal Constructions

Causal clauses are derived from underlying sentential structures. The occurrence of the caused event depends on the causing event given in the causal clause. Causal clause occurs in the sentence initial position followed by the resultant sentence. 'hopa' is inserted in between the component sentences.

no acido          hopa no apiñ dīma.  
 I sick-exist cau.    rice eat-neg.  
 'because I am sick I did not eat rice'

mo' acido          hopa mo' hospital ine.  
 he sick-exist cau. he hospital go-p.t.  
 'because he is sick, he went to hospital'

mo' mi    mixagiko hopa dambine.  
 he acc. do wrong cau. beat-p.t.  
 'because he leads a wrong life he was  
 beaten'

mo'mido hoko hopa ago ho lila.  
 he rain fall cau. out loc. go out-neg.  
 because of rain he could not go out'

### Adverbial Clause

Underlying sentential structures of adverbial clauses in Apatani contains noun phrases that are coreferential to the matrix NP. Hence, the embedded NP is deleted. The clause functions as a part of the verb phrase and is complementary to the main verb. The adverbial clauses are formed by adding 'la/lala' the embedded verb.

mo'o' tala so ane.  
 he beer drink-adv. here come-p.t.  
 'he, having drunk the beer, came here'

mo'uyi bone lulala ine.  
 he story one tell-adv. go-p.t.  
 'having told the story, he went'

### Passive Constructions

Passive constructions are formed in Apatani by adding 'ko' to the verb and the instrumental marker 'lo' to the subject NP of the active sentence which loses its subject status as a result of passivization. When active sentences are passivized either the direct object or the indirect object can take the subject position in the passive sentence.

kago mo' mi membine.  
 Kago he acc. kill-p.t.  
 'Kago killed him'

mo' kago lo menkobine.  
 he Kago-inst. kill-pas-p.t.  
 'he was killed by Kago'

nyimi hi aki mi tade lo bikone.  
 woman det. dog acc. Tadde inst. give-p.t.  
 'the woman was given a dog by Tadde'

sani tade lo ilyo la pako bine.  
 tree Tadde inst. dao. inst. cat pas.-p.t.  
 'the tree was cut by Tadde with dao'

### Reported Speech

In reported speech, the statement, etc., are quoted as such and the quotative 'hila' is added to the end of the statement followed by the comment of the reporter. See the illustrations below;

"no'kina alyi ni" hila nyimi  
 you where come-fut. nom. quo. woman

takabine.

ask-p.t.

"where are you coming from" the woman  
 asked'

hime hi lunihi "no reru hokila  
 child det. tell-nom.-det. I Reru abl.

todu."

come-exist

'I am coming from Reru' the boy replied'

hirepa nyimi lunihi "nimpa aku?"  
 again woman ask-non.-det. why come-asp.  
 '"why did you come" she asked again'



The indirect speech is formed by adding 'yuke'  
to the end of the direct speech that is converted  
to indirect speech.

mo' mī yuke  
he do report  
'he said that he has done'

mo' lu yuke  
he say report  
'he said that he has said'

mo' mīkin yuke  
he do-be.v. report  
'he said that he has demonstrated'

- - - -

## APPENDIX

### I. Proper Names

The list is a sample of proper names that are very common among Apatanis.

| <u>Male</u>  | <u>Female</u> |
|--------------|---------------|
| tade' (ade') | kamin         |
| gyati (ati)  | oka           |
| sa' 'rope'   | dumi (umi)    |
| sayi (ayi)   | dimin         |
| catun (atun) | pani          |
| ribya (ibya) | papu          |
| rika (ika)   | mado          |
| laji (aji)   | munya (unya)  |
| ruja (uja)   | rin'ya (anya) |
| gyayu (ayu)  | rin'yo (anyo) |
| nyime        | sayi (ayi)    |
| cilyan       | yake (ake)    |
| sala (ala)   | yalyo (alyo)  |
| hinda        | yaku (aku)    |
| hale         | yadi (adi)    |
| taka (aka)   | yubi (abi)    |
| tatum        | yasin (asin)  |
| tatun        | yara          |
| talo         | yari          |
| tapa         | yapa          |

| <u>Male</u>       | <u>Female</u> |
|-------------------|---------------|
| tayu              | yayi          |
| tati              | yagi          |
| taki 'ginger'     | yaji          |
| taser             | yami          |
| tala              | yaman         |
| tapin 'ice'       | yajan         |
| tara 'a tree'     | yapi          |
| tako              | yami          |
| tasani 'necklace' | yadun         |
| tari 'hale stone' | yaku          |
| tapo              | yanyu         |
| bida              | yamin         |
| bihan             | yase          |
| bikari            | yabo          |
| bamin             | halar         |

Those items which are given in brackets are terms used to address. There are certain terms like the following used by elders to address , youngsters.

| <u>Male child</u> | <u>Female child</u> |
|-------------------|---------------------|
| obin              | onya                |
| opo               | anya                |

## II. Measurements

The measurements that are used by Apatanis are given below:

|         |   |
|---------|---|
| haye    | 'distance of one finger'                        |
| hanye   | 'distance of two fingers'                       |
| hahinhe | 'distance of three fingers'                     |
| hape    | 'distance of four fingers'                      |
| nañe    | 'distance of all five fingers<br>kept together' |

The above measurements are used to measure objects that are smaller in size.

|              |   |
|--------------|---|
| hiñxehe      | 'fist with elongated thumb'   |
| ladi goye    | 'span (with forefinger)'  |
| laso goye    | 'span (with middle finger)'   |
| ladu tuye    | 'distance between the tip of the<br>middle finger and the elbow'    |
| alabuye      | 'distance between the shoulder<br>and the tip of the middle finger' |
| lyeñe        | 'distance between the tips of<br>two hands including chest'         |
| lyeñe kupahe | 'chest and alabuye'   |

Different baskets that are used as measures to measure foodgrains, etc.

|             |   |                                |
|-------------|---|--------------------------------|
| 1 kice      | - | about $\frac{1}{2}$ Kg. (rice) |
| 2 kice      | - | 1 liya                         |
| 2 liya      | - | 1 paro yagi/piro yagi          |
| 2 paro yagi | - | 1 paipaca                      |
| 2 paipaca   | - | 1 entyagi (entyagi)            |
| 2 entyagi   | - | 1 gidapata                     |

### III. Time Unit

|           |  |
|-----------|--|
| apiñ mīlo | 'time needed for cooking rice<br>(about half an hour)' |
| konci     | '3½ hours (dawn)'                                      |
| alo       | '10 hours (one day)'                                   |
| pīlo      | '28 days (lunar month)'                                |
| ayañ      | 'one year'   |

### IV. Elements that occur with nouns, verbs, etc., as suffixes, post positions, particles, etc.

|       |   |
|-------|---|
| agiñ  | 'sociative marker'  |
| atañ  | 'plural noun'   |
| iñ    | 'pronoun (indicates remoteness)'  |
| e     | 'adjective marker in numeral'   |
| o     | 'locative case marker'  |
| ka    | '(i) added to pronouns to form<br>deictic pronouns,<br>(ii) genitive case marker,<br>(iii) added to verb to indicate<br>that the action is per-<br>formed to check something' |
| kiñ   | 'added to verb to indicate the<br>action is performed as a demon-<br>stration'  |
| kinen | 'added to form permissive con-<br>struction (3rd person)'   |
| ki    | '(i) ablative case marker added<br>to locative noun',<br>(ii) subject case sign for<br>existential verb'  |

|       |  |
|-------|--|
| ku    | 'perfective aspect marker'   |
| kum   | 'added to indicate the collective involvement in an action'  |
| keñ   | 'added to indicate that the subject is able to do the action'  |
| kenen | '(i) used to form causative constructions,<br>(ii) added to form permissive constructions'   |
| ko    | '(i) added to express 'one before',<br>(ii) added to the verb when passive are formed,<br>(iii) added as allative case marker<br>(iv) added to form locative noun,<br>(v) added to verb to form locative nominals,<br>(vi) added to the embedded verb (when locative nouns are relativized)' |
| koda  | 'added to the sentences to convert them to conditional clauses'  |
| gi    | '(i) added to the verb to indicate change in the position or posture,<br>(ii) added to indicate the action is done to guide someone'   |
| gu    | 'added to the verb to indicate the change over one topic/action to another'  |
| go'   | 'added to the verb to indicate that the subject has surpassed others in the action'  |

|       |  |
|-------|--|
| gogi  | 'added to indicate that the work that is being performed is a pending work'  |
| gya   | 'added to the verb to indicate that the action is done in a wrong way, unknowingly'  |
| gyo   | 'added to indicate that the action is to be returned as a debt'  |
| gyo'  | 'added to the verb to indicate the mixing of two or more items'  |
| ñ     | 'used as a numeral meaning 'one'   |
| ñe    | 'used to form imperatives (remote)'  |
| ñeti  | 'added to the verb to form permissive constructions (2nd person)'  |
| ño    | '(i) used as a numeral to mean 'five'<br><br>(ii) added to the verb to indicate that half of the work is done (semi-completive)' |
| ño'   | 'added to the verb to indicate that the action came to an end'   |
| ca    | 'added to indicate that the object is moving to a lower plain'   |
| ci    | 'non-proximal future marker'   |
| cikañ | 'added to sentences to form comparative constructions'   |
| ciñ   | 'added to indicate that the subject knows the action very well'  |

|      |   |
|------|---|
| ja   | 'added to the verb to indicate that the work is complete'   |
| jalo | 'added to sentences to form disjunctive constructions'  |
| jomo | 'added to the verb to indicate that the subject follows someone in an action'   |
| ta   | '(i) classifier for flat objects,<br>(ii) added to indicate that the action is performed in violation of an advice/<br>social norm' |
| ti'  | 'added to the verb to indicate that the action is done as a preventive measure'   |
| ti   | 'added to the verb to indicate the repetition of an action'   |
| tiñ  | 'added to the verb to indicate the action is performed to obstruct something/someone'   |
| ti   | 'marker for perfect'  |
| tu   | '(i) classifier for liquid container,<br>(ii) added to indicate that the action is done to prevent someone from doing something'    |
| te   | '(i) non-proximal past marker,<br>(ii) future tense marker (in some dialects)'  |
| ter  | '(i) added to the verb to denote that the action is done to   |



- make someone to part with  
some action he is engaged in,
- (ii) added to indicate that the  
action is a defensive one'
- to '(i) added to the verb to indicate  
non-proximal past when the  
subject is in first person,  
(ii) added to form imperatives  
(in proximity),  
(iii) added to form deictic pro-  
nouns to indicate the  
objects that are found at  
a long distance from both  
the speaker and hearer'
- todo 'added' to indicate the possibility  
of an action'
- da '(i) stand (as a regular verb),  
(ii) to form sentential adverbs,  
it is added to qualifi-  
catory verbs,  
(iii) used as an existential  
verb'
- din 'added to the verb to indicate  
that the action is done inten-  
tionally'
- di 'is used as a future tense marker  
with negatives'
- du' 'added to the verb to indicate  
that the action is performed to  
destroy something'
- du '(i) used as an existential verb,  
(ii) sit (as a regular verb)'

|      |   |
|------|---|
| do   | '(i) lie (as a regular verb),<br>(ii) used as an existential verb,<br>(iii) added as a classifier to<br>indicate medium size<br>animals,<br>(iv) added to indicate progres-<br>sive aspect' |
| nañ  | 'added to indicate the willingness'   |
| nanĩ | 'added to verb to form instru-<br>mental nouns'   |
| nĩñ  | 'added to verb to form infinitives'   |
| nĩ   | '(i) feminine gender marker,<br>(ii) what (as a pronoun),<br>(iii) added to verb to form agent<br>nouns'  |
| nu   | 'used as plural marker (I and II<br>persons)'   |
| ne   | 'used as non-proximal past marker'  |
| nedo | 'added to the verb to indicate<br>the possibility of occurrence<br>of an action'  |
| nya  | 'used as an emphatic marker'  |
| nyi  | '(i) used as conjoined marker<br>when two (only two) nouns<br>are conjoined,<br>(ii) two (numeral)'   |
| nyo  | '(i) used as a adjective that<br>occurs with the classifier<br>to express the meaning<br>'small',   |

- (ii) added to express habitual action'
- pa '(i) used as purposive case sign,  
(ii) used as adverb marker,  
(iii) added to verb to indicate that the action is performed to remind somebody
- pa' '(i) added to the verb to indicate that the action is done to avoid someone or something,  
(ii) added to the verb to indicate that the action is done to insult someone'
- pa\ 'added to indicate that the action is done to get rid of someone/something'
- pin 'added to indicate that the action is continued'
- pi 'used as a numeral 'four'
- pu '(i) used as a classifier to indicate that the objects referred are round objects,  
(ii) added to the verb to indicate that the action is done in a wrong way unknowingly'
- pe '(i) added to the verb to form imperatives for asking for the speaker himself,  
(ii) added to verb to form 'requests',

- (iii) used as a numeral 'four',
- (iv) used as a classifier with -  
ude 'house', agu 'stanza',  
etc.'
- po '(i) masculine gender marker,  
(ii) used as a classifier with  
containers'
- po' 'added to the verb to indicate  
that the action is done in a  
short cut way/method'
- pya '(i) added to the verb to indi-  
cate that the action is  
performed to return the  
debt one owns in action,  
(ii) added to the verb to indi-  
cate that the action is  
performed to degrade some-  
one'
- pye '(i) used as a classifier to indi-  
cate that the objects re-  
ferred are very small,  
(ii) added to the verb to indi-  
cate that the doer of the  
action was successful in  
achieving the objective of  
the action'
- pyo 'added to the verb to indicate  
that the action is performed,  
hiding others'
- pyo' 'added to indicate the excellency  
of the doer of the action (in  
performing the action)'

|      |   |
|------|---|
| pyo` | 'added to the verb to indicate that the doer has performed the action ahead of others'  |
| ba   | 'used as a classifier for flat objects'   |
| bi   | '(i) added with time nouns to mean 'previous',<br>(ii) give (as a regular verb),<br>(iii) added to the verb to indicate that the action is done for the sake of someone else'                                   |
| bi   | '(i) added to the verb to indicate the certainty of the event'<br>(ii) added to indicate that the action is performed successfully'   |
| bu   | 'used as a classifier for big and long objects'   |
| be   | 'used as a classifier for items made of clothes'  |
| bo   | '(i) added to nouns to indicate masculine gender,<br>(ii) added to the verb to indicate that the subject is moving in the plain area,<br>(iii) added to nouns as to specify the agentive and experiencer nouns' |
| bo'  | 'added to the verb to indicate that the doer has joined/shared in the action'   |

|     |   |
|-----|---|
| ma  | '(i) used as a negative marker,<br>(ii) verb (indicates negative)'  |
| mi  | '(i) used as accusative case<br>marker,<br>(ii) used as dative case marker,<br>(iii) used as a sequential verb<br>added to another verb to<br>mean 'put out fire' |
| min | '(i) added to indicate that the<br>doer is successful in doing<br>the action,<br>(ii) added to indicate that the<br>action is done without any<br>specific aim'   |
| myo | 'added to the verb to indicate<br>that the action is performed in<br>advance'   |
| yi  | 'added to the verb to indicate<br>that the subject is moving to a<br>higher plane'  |
| yo  | '(i) used with the meaning 'night'<br>along with other elements,<br>(ii) added to the verb to form<br>prohibitive constructions'                                  |
| ran | '(i) added to the verb to indicate<br>the continuity of the action',<br>(ii) added to indicate that the<br>work is incomplete and has<br>to be completed'         |
| ri  | 'added to the verb to indicate<br>that the work is at the initial/<br>starting stage'   |

- ru            '(i) added to the verb to indicate  
                 the intolerable/bad aspect  
                 of the action,
- (ii) added to indicate the diffi-  
                 culty that the doer expe-  
                 riences in performing the  
                 action'
- re            'added to indicate the action in  
                 performed in excess'
- ro            '(i) used as a classifier with  
                 adverbs,
- (ii) used as an adjective meaning  
                 'big' and occurs with a  
                 classifier,
- (iii) used as a noun to mean  
                 'morning' and occurs with  
                 other time units'
- la            '(i) used as a conjoining marker  
                 with nouns and numerals,
- (ii) added in numerals with the  
                 meaning 'ten' to form  
                 multiples of 'hundred',
- (iii) added to the verb to indi-  
                 cate that the doer is an  
                 expert in performing the  
                 action,
- (iv) used to form adverbial  
                 clauses (verbal partici-  
                 ples)'
- lin           'used to mean 'evening' with  
                 other elements
- lu            'added to the verb to indicate  
                 that the action has affected  
                 another action unfavourably'

- luñ 'added to the verb to indicate that the action is performed to frighten someone'
- le 'used to mean 'ten' in numerals'
- lo '(i) instrumental case marker,  
(ii) used in the meaning 'day' with other time units,  
(iii) added to the verb to indicate that the object goes down as a result of the action,  
(iv) added to the verb to indicate the obligation on the part of the doer'
- lya '(i) added to the verb to indicate that the action is done in an improper way,  
(ii) added to the verb to indicate that it is the nature of the doer to act like that'
- lyañ '(i) added to the verb to indicate that the action is performed by imitating others,  
(ii) added to indicate that the action is performed to set right something/someone'
- lyi '(i) proximate future marker,  
(ii) become (as a regular verb)'
- sa '(i) added to indicate the suggestive nature of the action,



- (ii) added to indicate that the action is performed away from the place of speech act'
- si '(i) stands for 3rd person pronoun (proximate),  
(ii) added with nouns as a determiner'
- si 'added to the verb to indicate that the action is over'
- su 'indicate the negative attitude of the speakers towards the action'
- su ... lo 'indicates the obligation on the part of the subject, though subject is unwilling'
- so 'used as a classifier when the objects are long and thin'
- xa '(i) added with the verb to indicate the failure in achieving the objective of the action,  
(ii) added to indicate the persistent nature of the action'
- xañ 'used in numerals to mean 'ten' in forming multiples of 'ten'
- xi '(i) added to the verb to indicate that the purpose of the action is realized,  
(ii) added to the verb as a verb particle meaning 'kill'
- xiñ 'added with the verb to indicate

that the subject keeps away from the action because of its adverse effect'

ha 'added at the sentence final position to form interrogatives'

hiñ            '(i) used as a numeral 'three'  
                 and occurs with classifiers

                 (ii) added to the verb to indi-  
                 cate the involvement of  
                 the entire set'

hi            '(i) used as third person pronoun  
                      (unfamiliar, invisible),  
                      (ii) added with nouns as a  
                              determiner'

he            \* 'added with the numeral to change  
                 it to an adjective'

ho 'used as a conjoining marker'

## V. Folk Tales

1

|      |    |                       |  |                     |
|------|----|-----------------------|--|---------------------|
| ayun | ho | anunyi                |  | abañnyi             |
| once |    | younger brother-conj. |  | elder brother-conj. |

ditola. .  
live-p.t.dur.

monyi      alo karmyañ mi      more      ho  
they-two day adverb acc. forest loc.

ila        pita mentola.        alo lonyilohen  
go-dur. bird kill-p.t.dur. day some

hepa            iline.    abañ                    hi    pita ako  
like this go-p.t. elder brother det. bird one

xeta baligimatola.      anu      hi      alo  
?      get-neg.p.t.dur.      younger brother      det.      day

karmyañ mi pita abuje baligiline.  
adv. acc. bird many get-p.t.

ronē monyi ka antiabanyi mo' mi tahi pa  
once they-two gen. parents he acc. ask-for  
milyine. alo loye anu hi  
do-become-p.t. day one younger brother det.

abañ  
elder brother

ka pita bama kopa mo' kiln ho  
gen. bird bring-neg. inf. he behind loc.

impolyini abañ hi more ho pita  
following elder brother det. forest loc. bird

mi tuladala ahipa dilyini.  
acc. take-dur.-exist-dur. blood-inf. eat-f.t.noun

hi mi kapalala mo' antiabanyi  
this acc. see-dur. he parents-conj.

mi luko pa tahi lyini ho mo' mi  
acc. inform inf. ask-f.t.nom. and he acc.

lukulyiyo hila luline. ho mo'  
tell-f.t.neg. quo. tell-p.t. and he

mi lukolyi milo menci hila luline.  
acc. inform-f.t. if kill-f.t. quo. tell-p.t.

monyi ude ho alyikuo mo' lukoma  
they (two) house loc. return mo tell-neg.

pa dilamatala. hiko hopa mo'  
inf. stay-neg-doer this-loc. because he

aniabainyi mi lukolyine.  
parents-conj. acc. tell become-p.t.

sika lukoni mi  
this-gen. telling acc.

abañ hi ude aruñ hokila tarola  
elder brother det. house near from secretly

tapalyine.anu mi lukokopa mo'  
hear-p.t. younger brother acc. tell-inf. he

mendupa hila aro roye ho  
kill-exist-inf. quo. morning one loc.

more insa hila lutola. anu  
forest go-mod quo. say-p.t.dur. younger brother  
hi  
det.

mo'ka pila ka luni mi talalala  
he gen. cheat gen. tell-nom acc. understand-dur.

mo'intema. hila lutola.  
he go-p.t.-neg. quo. tell-p.t.dur.

hojelopa aban ka tarelamapa  
although elder brother gen. ask-dur.-neg.-inf.

luko ho monyi more impa intola  
place of loc. they (two) forest go-inf. go-p.t.dur.  
saying

lempa ho mo'mi lukokopa  
village loc. he acc. tell-place-inf.

aban hi mempapa mitola ho  
elder brother det. kill-inf. do-p.t.dur. and

mo'hargilyiyo aban hi patipa  
he run away elder brother det. tiger-for.

lyila montola. hika molya ho  
become-dur. persuade-p.t.dur. pro. persuade-loc.

mo'ala boye mi papotola. hirapa  
he hand one acc. cut-p.t.dur. again

mombomyolyini ala bunyini mi ma  
persuade-f.t.nom. hand two-nom. acc. neg.

papatola. hikohoki pati sineku  
cut-p.t.dur. then tiger die-p.t.-pef.

ho mo'ude ho arkubikula  
 and he house loc. come-v.p.dur.  
 aniabañ mi lukotola monyi  
 parents acc. tell-p.t.asp. they-conj.  
 hembre hembpyotiku.  
 very happy-p.t.-asp.

Free Translation

Long ago there lived two brothers. They used to go to the forest and to catch the birds using traps. Days passed. The elder brother did not bring even a single bird whereas the younger brother used to bring in plenty. Once, their parents asked about it.

As time passed, one day the younger brother wanted to follow his elder brother to find out the reality. The younger brother followed him without going for hunting. The elder brother, as usual, caught the birds and took it out from the traps. He began to eat them without boiling. The younger brother appeared in the scene and threatened the elder brother saying that he will narrate everything to their parents. The elder brother instructed the younger not to do it and if he does it, he will take revenge by killing him.

On reaching back home, the younger brother

could not remain without informing the incident to their parents. So he narrated everything to their parents. But the elder brother heard each and every thing of this conversation by hiding in a nearby place. In the next morning, the elder brother wanted to take the younger to forest and planned to kill him. But the younger one realized the motive of the elder and hence refused to go with him to the forest. Finally, both of them went to forest. The elder one told the younger of his intention to kill him for informing the parents what he has done in the forest in the previous day. Then the younger brother tried to run away. In the mean time the elder brother turned into a tiger and began to fight each other. In the fight, the younger brother cut both the hands of the tiger and it died. The younger brother returned home and narrated the whole incident to the parents. They were happy to learn about it.

## 2

taninyi      burunyi      hila anye  
Tani-conj. Baru-conj. quo. two

ditola.              m'onyi      ano      ajinsitola.  
live-p.t.-dur. they(two) very friend-p.t.-dur.

rone m'onyi              diyindula              lusuni  
once they (two) sit-asp.-exist-dur. tell-nom.

mónyi ki mihioho mi menkasisa  
they-two pos. family acc. kill-v-asp.

hila lukotola. anyilu talisila  
quo. tell-p.t.-dur. two-per. agree-dur.

burubo hi jinepa mensitola. ho  
Buru-nom. det. really kill-v-p.t.-dur and

tanibo ki mi acumola aki ako mi  
Tani-nom. pos. acc. hide dog one acc.

melalala mihioho mi mentike  
kill-dur. family acc. kill-p.t.-emp.

hila kakitola. ho burubo hi  
quo. see-v.-p.t.-dur. and Buru-nom. det.

terelalyati. hoki hatun hi  
believe-v.-p.t. hence time det.

dalala. tanibo hi burubo mi ka  
exist-dur. Tani-nom. det. Buru-nom. acc. gen.

luni ninyi duhuka sisa hila lubilyini.  
say-nom. we-two beat-v.-asp. quo. tell-f.t.-nom.

ho burubo hi talilala anyiru  
and Buru-nom. det. agree-dur. two-nom.

hikasitola tanibo hi mo'ka mihioho  
complete-adv. Tani-nom. det. he gen. family

mi gyolyinlala hukinentola.  
acc. call-dur. beat-asp.-p.t.-dur.

burubo ka ni mi  
Buru-nom. gen. you acc.

humintola. ho burubo hi tanibo mi  
hull-v-adv. and Buru-nom. det. Tani-nom. acc.

taxi ni no' nitampa hunkane uropo  
ask-v.-nom. you how hull-asp. inside

hiyaduni tanibo hi luni hi  
 shout-exist-nom. Tani-nom. det. say-nom. det.  
 no lacipape kone abin ho hunyi  
 I finger-between one between loc. pestle  
 boye boye peligitola huko ho uro  
 one one keep-v.-p.t.-dur. hull loc. inside  
 simapo burubo hi picatajila hila  
 v. neg.-asp. Buru-nom. det. cut-v.-asp.dur. quo.  
 hukani laci huku hujasitola.  
 hull-nom. finger hull-asp. hull-injure-v.-p.t.-dur.  
 ho mo'ka henkuni nimi si  
 and he gen. realize-nom. I-acc. det.  
 mucumimapa midhi hila helala.  
 care-acc.-neg.adv. do-p.t. quo. think-dur.  
 mo'mitri milidupa hila duku  
 he also take-revenge-inf. quo. wooden box  
 kone kolala tanibo mi duka to  
 one make-dur. Tani-spe. acc. ask p.t.  
 hila lulala pabu ho kumbalo  
 quo. tell-dur. base of the hill loc. throw-down  
 tola.  
 p.t.-dur.  
 ho tanibo hi calakumabapa  
 and Tani-spe. det. climb-neg.-inf.  
 dolyini. danyi hi mipya  
 exist-f.t.-nom. sun det. ray  
 bilakulala mo'ude ho ingila  
 give-asp.-dur. he house loc. reach-v.-dur.  
 dugitola tanibo ka dulakema  
 exist-v.-p.t.-dur. Tani-spe. gen. stay-dur.-asp.  
 -neg.



hĩnĩn mi talalala mo'ka malo  
this acc. hear-dur. he gen. ceiling

ho tisre arbusorla bilala  
loc. rope connect-dur. give-dur.

hopa to'neke hĩla lulyinĩ.  
by go down-emp. quo. tell-f.t-nom.

tanibo hĩ hopa tabĩkula  
Tani-spe. det. by come down-asp.-dur.

mihioho' mi kakabĩkukele  
family acc. see-cer.-asp.-emp.

aro kopa adin buru koka  
poor condition head Buru from

bunĩ dutokula hĩ mi  
take-nom. live-p.t.-asp.-dur. this acc.

kalala tanibo hĩ burubo ka  
see-dur. Tani-spe. det. Buru-spe. gen.

akunĩ mi lylyalala papamitola  
come-nom. acc. say-f.t.-dur. cut-v.-p.t.-dur.

hokĩ misunĩ montemote  
abl. persuade-nom. continue-p.t.

mohankele kidi ho paragĩneke  
persuade-time adv. earth loc. come-down-p.t.-emp.

tani hĩ akula hempyopa  
Tani det. come back-dur. happy-inf.

duku.  
live-asp.

### Free Translation

There lived two brothers Tani and Buru.  
They were close friends. One day, while gossip-  
ing, they agreed to kill their own family members.

Accordingly, Buru did what he agreed to do. But Tani hid his family members and told Buru that he had killed his family members and as a proof showed the blood of a dog that he had killed. Buru believed the words of Tani. Days passed. One day they decided to compete in hulling the paddy. They went back to their houses. Buru called his family members and finished hulling.

Buru was doing it alone and so he was defeated. He enquired about the sound of collision of the pestles that he heard. Tani said that he kept the pestles in between the fingers and hulled. Hence, the pestles collided and the sound was produced. Buru also tried to do hulling in the way Tani told. But while hulling in the way Tani told, his fingers got broken. Buru realised that Tani is cheating him and decided to take revenge on him.

He made a wooden box and managed to put Tani inside it. He rolled it down the hill. Tani escaped from the box. But he was unable to climb the hill. Fortunately, the Sun came to the rescue of Tani and took him to the Sun's place. Tani expressed his desire to go back to his home. The Sun made a ropeway from Sun's place to Tani's house. Through the ropeway Tani reached

home and lived happily with his family.

3

abotaninyika burupicenyika pibibi ka siko

bilo abotani hila miyu pibi  
long ago Abotani quo. man talented

ako dutola. ho burupica hila pica  
one live-p.t.-dur. and Burupicha quo. yes-man

ako dutola. mo'anyi more imbasitola  
one live-p.t.-dur. they (two) forest go-together-  
v.-p.t.-dur.

pica mi kapyoyapa pibi  
Picha acc. before-adv. Pibi

more katetola. pica ka giru hoka  
forest see-p.t.-dur. Picha gen. trap from

kubu pita doni hi mi tani tuxapabula  
rat bird exist-nom. det. acc. Tani take-v.-dur.

mo'pica ka giru ho  
he Picha gen. trap loc.

pita pa lyila dobitola.  
bird comp. become-dur. exist-v.-p.t.-dur.

pica siksikoda pibi sidaladumabyola  
Picha dem.-cau. Pibi understand-v.-neg.-dur.

hila pita mi ciba ho saligila  
quo. bird acc. bag loc. put-v.-dur.

ude aku. ho ciba byatola  
home come-asp. and bag burn-p.t.-dur.

byadopa migo ho tilikile. tani  
burn-v.-adv. oven loc. throw-asp. Tani

luni hi oha pica byadosimasa'  
tell-nom. det. hallow Picha burn-v.-neg.-asp.

hila lutola.           no pitasipe  
quo. tell-p.t.-dur. I bird-det.-imp.

henkile. pibi no' simpa           hila  
?       Pibi you become-adv. quo.

lulala   ciba ritola           ago  
say-dur. bag throw-p.t.-dur. entrance of  
empu ho   ripalin.       ho pibi siran  
house loc. throw-v.-v.- and Pibi pillar of the  
verandah

mito ho   golingiku.       pica halin  
top loc. fly-v.-v.-asp. Picha ran-v.

membila       siran mi   oye payeti.  
kill-cer.-dur. pillar acc. once cut-v.-p.t.

pibi luni       hi   hokoda  
Pibi tell-nom. det. then

ninyi   ka   mihioho hemi menkasisa  
we (two) gen. family all kill-v.-asp.

hila lu. ho pica hokoda  
quo. say and Picha then

in   hila lu. pibi aki kibo  
okay quo. say Pibi dog gen.

ako mi   patupape       milala ayi  
one acc. cut-inf.-imp. do-dur. meat

mi   ago       empu ho   ingya  
acc. front of house loc. both sides of the oven

ho   seyo   seci       mibitola       ati  
loc. rub-v. rub-f.t. do-cer-p.t.-dur. come-p.t.

pica hokoda no tari mensulyila  
Picha than I also kill-v.-fut.-dur.

hila mo'ka   mihioho mi   menxapa  
quo. he gen. family acc. kill-v.-adv.

ho tani lunt hi dubu hudo  
and Tani say-nom. det. stay hull-exist

hutiñsisa hila lukela tani ki  
hull-v.-m. quo. tell-asp.-dur. Tani pos.

riban ribin hila mihioho  
sound of pestling quo. family

dusulyini hukela. pica lunt  
stay-v.-f.t.-nom. hull-asp.-dur. Picha tell-nom.

hi tani, no' nitampa ni  
det. Tani you always-adv. why

huduni hila lukela. tani  
pestle-exist-nom. quo. tell-asp.-dur. Tani

lunt hi laci pape ho  
say-nom. det. finger between loc.

hunyi bue da laci pape ho  
pestle one exist finger between loc.

hunyi bue da gitolaciyo  
pestle one exist carry-p.t.-finger-neg.

hudu. no' hila humampa  
pestle-exist you quo. like-adv.

hila lu pica hi mi tajela  
quo. say Picha this acc. hear-v.-dur.

hukadu hila laci mi huxi  
hull-v.-exist quo. finger acc. hull-v.

hujasi. ho mo' si ayamabyo  
hull-asp.-v. and he this good-neg.-v.

a hila.hela duti' hila  
int. quo. think-dur. sit-p.t. quo.

henkila. tani ki mihioho rulyu  
think-v.-dur. Tani pos. family many

rulye duti.  
many sit-p.t.

ho picabo hi dugu ako  
and Picha-spe. det. wooden pot one

mila dutola tani luni hi ni  
do-dur. rit-p.t.-dur. Tani say-nom. det. what

pana miduni. pica luni hi niki  
? do-exist-nom. Picha tell-nom. det. I-pos.

mihioho tari niyakumani lyipo-  
family also what-come-asp.-neg.-nom. name

tagyabo ninyi imikopasi miduni  
of a pig we (two) sleep-loc.-v.-asp. do-exist-nom.

hila lu. pica luni hi dorukendopya  
quo. tell Picha tell-nom. det. lie-v.-asp.-v.

dopyokendopya doktope hila lu.  
lie-v.-asp.-v. lie-v.-p.t.-imp. quo. say

tani rone dokabiti. tani luni hi  
Tani once lie-v.-cer-p.t. Tani say-nom. det.

pica dorukendoran hila lu tani  
Picha lie-v.-v.-exist-v. quo. say Tani

pica mi luni hi ayapa milyato  
Picha acc. say-nom. det. good-adv. make-v.-p.t.

hila lu. pica hokoda hila ayapa  
quo. say Picha then quo. good-adv.

milyan milyanlalala hirapa  
make-v. make-v.-dur. once again-adv.

tani mi dokabi. tanika dokalalyi  
Tani acc. lie-test-cer. Tani-gen. lie-v.-fut.

pica tani mi sadano ho kubanlo  
Picha Tani acc. upside down loc. reverse-v.

tani kubañlokotola.            tani luni            hi  
Tani be inside-p.t.-dur. Tani say-nom. det.

aci    pua    aci    pua    ñimi    ice  
hallo crow hallo crow I-acc. little

lyampe.    pua    luni            hi    abotani no'  
help-imp. crow tell-nom. det. Abotani you

ñimi    apualyi    xakido                    epapo  
I-acc. arrow-bow kill-v.-exist shoot-v.

lyampe            luduni                    hila ñimi            ño  
help-imp. tell-exist-nom. quo. you-acc. I

lyantemake            hila luti.            ho    pua  
help-v.-neg.-emp. quo. say-p.t. and crow

goletiku.            ho    tarin            ako gokela  
fly-p.t.-asp. and woodpecker one fly-dur.

tani luni            hi    aci    tarin  
Tani tell-nom. det. hallo woodpecker

ya    aci    tarin  
voc. hallow woodpecker

ya, .ñimi    ice    lyampe    hila  
voc. I-acc. little help-imp. quo.

luti.            tarin            hi    tide            tide  
say-p.t. woodpecker det. peck-dur. peck-dur.

ami pua mi    kapadopa  
eye one acc. see-v.-exist-inf.

tikobi.            tarin            luni            hi  
open-v.-cer. woodpecker tell-nom. det.

ño korte ni    mi    lyaladima            hila  
I alone you acc. help-dur.-neg. quo.

danyi mi    gyote so    hila luti.            ho  
Sun    acc. call loc. quo. tell-p.t. and

danyi mi gyobibi danyi bende  
 Sun acc. call-v.-cer. Sun ray

bende dugu mi tanyi bence danyi  
 ray plate acc. two split Sun

abotani mi mo'ude ho inñiti ku.  
 Abotani acc. he house loc. go-p.t. asp.

ude ho inla danyi luni hi  
 house loc. go-dur. Sun tell-nom. det.

hubyu hikalyayo cukha  
 ceiling over the oven touch-asp.-pro. tobacco

hikalyayo  
 touch-asp.-pro.

pepu byosu xokalyayo  
 mat in between take out-v.-pro.

nekan kalolyayo reke kacalyayo  
 latrine see-v.-pro. ceiling see-v.-pro.

hila lu. ho danyibo aji in.  
 quo. say and Sun-spe. field go

abotani danyibo ka aji ini ho  
 Abotani Sun-spe. gen. field go-nom. loc.

cuxa kakakila tarji adin  
 tobacco bag see-v.-dur. scorpion all

hubya kakakila tabu adin  
 ceiling above oven see-v.-dur. snake all

pepu byosu kakakila tabu  
 mat in between see-v.-dur. snake

tarji adin ho nekan kalokila  
 scorpion all and latrine see-v.-dur.

hogya pati adin ho reke kakakila  
 lion tiger all and ceiling see-v.-dur.



sitiñ sire        adiñ dami    tani henihuñ  
bear wild pig all exist Tani think-v.

ño so    binyimiñ    milo sala        dula  
I loc. girl        boy grow-dur. stay-dur.

dima hila tenti.        alyi ho    danyi  
neg. quo. think-p.t. pig loc. Sun

aji    iniñ                atokula                tani luniñ  
field return-nom. return-v.-dur. Tani tell-nom.

hiñ    ño so    dulakema                ke    a  
det. I loc. stay-dur.-neg. int. int.

hila lu    danyi luniñ        hiñ    dula  
quo. say Sun    tell-nom. det. stay-dur.

kemamilo no' hokoda        nika  
v.-neg. you then-adv. you-gen.

ganda ho    insuhekutika        hila  
place loc. go-v.-v.-p.t.-emp. quo.

tipya soye sorlobiku        hika  
thread one put-cer.-asp. than-gen.

tipya hiñ    tani ka    ude    malo  
thread det. Tani gen. house top

mantu ho    sorlabi                mabo mantu  
ceiling loc. hand-dur.-cer. top ceiling

ho    tokubila                kakela    mihi hiñ  
loc. come-down-dur. see-dur. wife det.

ciciñcila dumi        ho mo'anyi  
weave-dur. exist-acc. and he two

ahutariñ karubusu dumi    niyu karu  
health see-v. exist what see-v.

busu duniñ        hila helala        autatiñ  
? exist-nom. quo. think-dur. tail piiece

soye alobitiñ    hiñ    mi    o    hiñ    tulala  
one throw-p.t. that acc. son det. pick up-dur.

neŋkati. o hi luni hi si aba  
smell-p.t. son det. tell-nom. det. this father

ka au henɪ henɪ ha hɪla  
gen. tail think-nom. think-nom. inter quo.

lu. ho anɪ hi luni hi  
tell and mother det. tell-nom. det.

pɪca pibi mi sadan ho  
Picha Pibi acc. wooden plate loc.

kupalobine. no' ampala lukadunɪ  
turn down upside-p.t. you lie-dur. tell-v.-esist-  
nom.

hɪla lulala cicin tapulo oye  
quo. tell-dur. weaving rod-inst. once

da. tani nɪka o mi damɪlyi  
beat Tani I-gen. son acc. beat-v.-fut.

hɪla henɪ hi hirapa autati  
quo. think-nom. det. again tail piece

soye alobi o hi tulala hirepa  
one throw-cer. son det. take-dur. again

neŋkati ho si aba au henɪ  
smell-p.t. and this father tail think

henɪ ha hɪla lukela anɪ hi  
think inter quo. tell-dur. mother det.

hirepa oye da. o mi dankɪla  
again once beat son acc. beat-dur.

tani tociku. tani luni hi nunu  
Tani come down-asp. Tani tell-nom. det. you(pl.)

nina himkane ahu karudanɪ  
you that much health see-v.-exist-nom.

hɪla taka mɔlu luni hi pɪca  
quo. ask-asp. they tell-nom. det. Picha

nyan̄ n̄unu mi d̄ine m̄ine  
'emp. we acc. make trouble-p.t.

hardun̄i also adab̄iku pīnka  
come-exist-nom. day come-v.-asp. balance rice

pīnka poxa poxa h̄ila ludo  
balance balance balance quo. say-v.  
rice beer beer

tani lun̄i h̄i hokida no'  
Tani say-nom. det. then-adv. you

pīnka pīnka poxa poxa ludo  
balance balance balance balance tell-v.  
rice rice beer beer

m̄ila arda lyiku naxa naxa  
v-dur. next day become-asp. no no

h̄ila lutot̄ika h̄ila lulala mo'  
quo. tell-p.t.-v. quo. tell-dur. he

reke d̄ulya. p̄ica arba bikula  
ceiling sit-v. Picha next day give-asp.-dur.

m̄ihioho pīnka pīnka poxa  
family acc. balance balance balance  
rice rice beer

poxa h̄ila lutola mihi h̄i  
balance beer quo. tell-p.t.-dur. wife det.

naxa naxa h̄ila lukele reke  
no no quo. tell-v.-dur. ceiling

can̄i reke cac̄idalyi tani  
climb-nom. ceiling climb-v.-towards Tani

ilyo paxeti. tani p̄ica mi monjo  
dao cut-v.-p.t. Tani Picha acc. ?

moni more ho momopas̄iti tani  
? forest loc. miss-v.-p.t. Tani

nyanyo padola dokile dola henĩ  
honey cut exist-v.-dur. stay-dur. think-nom.

pica no inekunĩ hĩla he  
Picha where go-p.t.-asp.-nom. quo. int.

ho pica mi kapatola Pica  
and Picha acc. see-p.t.-dur. Picha

nona dukunĩ hĩla lukele pica  
where stay-asp.-nom. quo. tell-v.-dur. Picha

lunĩ hĩ ño noya ho duma  
tell-nom. det. I where loc. stay-neg.

miyanukosu dusudukunĩ hĩla  
Miyoni-v. exist-v.-exist-asp.-nom. quo.

lu. picabo hĩ  
say Picha-spe. det.

o ako bala datola tani  
child one carry-dur. beat-p.t.-dur. Tani

lunĩ hĩ miyanĩ ka o ha?  
say-nom. det. Miyani gen. son int.

hĩla lu. pica lunĩ hĩ ñĩ  
quo. say Picha say-nom. det. yes

miyanĩ ka o tani lunĩ hĩ  
Miyani gen. son Tani say-nom. det.

oye mixe mikato hĩla lu  
once do-v. do-v.-imp. quo. say

mixekoda ñĩ mi oye hindo  
do-v.-con. I acc. once pinch

silyilo sũlo ñĩ mi sanda manĩnanci  
v.-fut. today I acc. rafter serve as food

hĩla lunekuta tani lunĩ hĩ mixe  
quo. say-p.t.-also Tani say-nom. det. make-v.

mikato miyanĩ ñĩ mĩci ño  
do-v.-imp. Minani why do-fut. I

kalyato           so   pica   rone mixe  
see-fut.-imp. loc. Picha once do-v.

mixabiti           mixe   kile miyanibo  
do-v.-cer.-p.t. do-v. ? Miyami-spe.

hiharlinbila           oye hindolala  
det. run-v.-cer.-dur. once punch-v.-dur.

apiñ gayiñlo nyudotela   aneku  
rice round   rub-v.-dur. come-p.t.-asp.

tani luni           hi   ronyi nipa           mixe  
Tani say-nom. det. twice for what make-v.

mikato           hila lu. pica hirapa  
do-v.-imp. quo. say Picha again

mixekile   miyani harlinbila  
do-v.-also Miyani run-v.-cer.-dur.

oye hindolala   apiñ gayiñ lo  
once pinch-dur. rice ball inst.

nyudotila           aneku           rohiñ  
rub-v.-p.t.-dur. come-p.t.-asp. third time

nipa           mixe mikato   hila tani  
for what do-v.-do-imp. quo. Tani

lukele           pica luni           hi   no'  
tell-v.-dur. Picha tell-nom. det. you

mibimibi-jama           no mitekuma  
do-v.-do-v.-asp.-neg! I do-p.t.-asp.-neg.

hila lu.   tani luni           hi   hira mito  
quo. tell Tani tell-nom. det. once do-imp.

no mitoku           so   lula.           hokoda hila  
I do-p.t.-asp. loc. tell-dur. then quo.

pica   oye hime mi   mixe mikabiti  
Picha one boy acc. do-v. do-v.-cer.-p.t.

ho miyanibo harlintola tani  
 and Miyani-spe. run-v.-p.t.-dur. Tani  
 anyi myimpujao impyo lo elala  
 two complete poison arrow inst. shoot-dur.  
 exhibit. pibi pica mi inla  
 shoot-v.-cer.-p.t. Pibi Picha acc. go-dur.  
 nyanyo pada pabasiti. pibi  
 honey cut-v. cut-v.-p.t. Pibi  
 nyanyo ubu mi kakinlalola no  
 honey hole acc. see-v.-dur I  
 inso hoki nyanyo ladodu hila  
 there abl. honey take-v. quo.  
 lukoti. pica ubo ho nyanyo  
 say-v.-p.t. Picha hole loc. honey  
 diti pica ka nyanyo diyami  
 eat-p.t. Picha gen. honey eat-v.-nom.  
 ho pibi ubu mi papi kopintela  
 loc. Pibi hole acc. pieces of wood close-v.-dur.  
 ileku.  
 go-v.-asp.

### Free Translation

#### The Talent of Abotani and Burupicha

Long ago there lived a talented man named Abotani and another yes-man named Burupicha. Both of them used to go to forest for collecting firewood and for hunting. One day Abotani went in advance and took the rats and birds that were lying in Picha's trap. Then Tani himself, became a bird and was lying in that trap. Picha put it

in his 'ciba' (bag) and returned home. He was about to burn the bird along with the 'ciba'. Then, Tani who was in disguise as a bird said,

'hallo! Picha, don't burn me'

'I thought that it is a bird. Is that you Pibi' said Picha. He threw the 'ciba' out and Pibi flew away and sat on a pillar of verandah. Picha cut that pillar on which Pibi was sitting and chased Pibi.

Another day they were sitting together. Pibi said, 'let us kill our family members'.

'Okay' replied Picha.

Pibi killed a male dog and dragged along the floor of the house. The blood spread everywhere inside the house. Picha went and killed all his family members as agreed.

Then, Tani came and suggested 'let us pestle the paddy today. Picha agreed to it.

He went and started pestling the paddy. Meanwhile Tani pestled the paddy along with his family members and Picha heard the sound of colliding the pestles.

'Hallo! Tani tell me how do you pestle' Picha enquired.

'I pestle putting one pestle each in between

the fingers. Don't you do it' Pibi said.

Picha hurried back and did the same way as Pibi, told and broke his fingers. The thought over a while about the mistake he had committed in killing his family members. He suspected that Tani is living with his family members.

One day Picha was making a wooden plate. Tani came to him and asked 'what are you doing'.

'I am alone, so I am making a place for sleeping with 'lyipo tagyo bo' Picha replied. He requested Tani to test it whether it is comfortable to lie down. Tani tested and told him, it is not comfortable. Picha modified it and request Tani to test again. Tani was testing by lying inside the vessel. Picha turned it upside down and Tani was trapped.

Tani heard the sound of a playing crow. He pleaded: 'Dear crow! dear crow, please help me!

The crow replied: 'you Abotani! you shoot me with bow and arrow making noice like 'khakha'. Even if you ask for help, I will not'. The crow flew away. After a while a woodpecker came that way

'hallo! taring, taring please help me'  
Tani requested.



The woodpecker made a hole in such a way that Tani could see through with one of his eyes. It expressed its inability to do more and it sought the help of Sun. The Sun came to the scene and with its heat, the vessel was split into two pieces. Abotani was taken to the Sun's home.

The Sun was about to go to the field. He told Abotani 'don't put your hand in the hole of the spoon stand kept above the oven. Don't touch the bag (tobacco bag) kept near the ceiling. Don't take out the mat and look into the latrine. Don't look above the ceiling'. The son went to field. Tani was very eager to see the house. He examined the bag, it was full of scorpion. He saw the ceiling above the oven, it was full of snakes, he looked under the mat, it was full of snakes and scorpions. The latrine was full of lions and tigers. The ceiling was full of forest pig.

Tani realized that he couldn't stay there for a long time. When Sun returned, in the evening, Tani expressed his desire to go back home. The Sun arranged for his return by putting a rope down upto Tani's house top.

When Tani reached home, he saw his wife

weaving the cloth. Their physical condition was bad. He thought for a while and threw one of his 'aru' in front of them. One of his sons took it and smelt it. He said to other members of his family that it smells as if that of his father.

The mother of the boy said: "Picha trapped Pibi inside the plate. Are you telling lie to test me". She began to beat him with weaving rod. Seeing this Tani threw another piece of 'aru'. The boy took it and tested by its smell. But this time also the mother did not believe the words of her son that it is of his father's. She beat him again. Tani came down.

He enquired: "Why do you appear to be much ill-healthy".

'Picha troubles us asking for 'pingka' and 'pokha' they said.

If he comes asking for 'pingka, pingka, pocha, pocha' then you say 'nakha, nakha', said Tani. He sat on the ceiling waiting for Picha. As usual Picha came and asked for 'pingka, pingka, pokha, pokha'. Tani's wife told 'nakha, nakha'. Picha went up the ceiling. Tani threw his 'dao' on Picha on seeing him on the ceiling,

but he missed the aim. Picha ran away and Tani chased him upto the forest.

Days passed away. One day Pibi was collecting honey in the forest. Pibi thought about Picha and to his surprise Picha appeared there.

Tani enquired: "hallo! Picha where are you staying now-a-days".

Picha replied: "I am staying with 'Miyanu'"

Pointing out to the child that Picha was carrying Tani asked: "is it 'Miyanu's' baby".

Picha said: "Yes, it is".

"Make it cry" Tani said.

"If I make the baby cry, Miyanu will pinch me and take away my flesh and it will be served as meat for her people".

Picha replied.

Tani assured Picha that nothing will happen to him in his presence and asked him to make the child cry. Picha did so. Miyanu came running and punched him and took away flesh and rubbed the wound with rice ball. When she left Tani asked Picha to make the child cry again. Once again he did so and Miyanu came and punished him as before. When Tani asked him to make the baby

cry once again. Picha refused it saying that Tani did not take revenge on Miyanu when she did harm to him.

"You do it once again, I shall take revenge on her" Tani said.

Once again Picha made the baby cry and Miyanu came running. Tani shot her with the poisonous arrow and killed her. Pibi took Picha with him. They were collecting the honey together. Pibi showed a hole and told he used to collect the honey from that hole. Picha went inside the hole and started eating honey. While Picha was eating honey and Pibi closed the hole with a piece of wood and trapped inside it. Tani went away.

- - - -

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ABRAHAM, P.T., 1981 : Deixis in Apatani. Paper presented at the National Conference on Tibeto-Burman Linguistics, Mysore. Appeared in IJDL, Vol.13, pp.366-74. (1984).
- ABRAHAM, P.T. : Nishi Grammar. Mysore, CIIL. (Forthcoming).
- AROKIANATHAN, S. : Thankul Grammar. Mysore, CIIL. (Forthcoming).
- BENEDICT, PAUL K., 1972 : Sino-Tibetan - A Conspectus. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- BETTS, V., 1948 : The Village Duel in Apa Tani Society. Man in India, Vol.28, pp.163-9.
- BOR, N.L., 1938 : Yano Dafla Grammar and Vocabulary. Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol.4 (3rd series), pp.217-81.
- BOWER, URSULA GRAHAM, 1953 : The Hidden Land. London.
- CENSUS OF INDIA, 1971 : Paper-I of 1975, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Table C VIII, Parts A and B).
- CHOWDHURY, J.N., 1973 : Arunachal Panorama. Shillong.
- ELWIN, VERRIER, 1958 : Myths of the North-East Frontier of India. Shillong.
- ELWIN, VERRIER, 1959a : A Philosophy of NEFA. Shillong.

ELWIN, VERRIER, 1959b : India's North-East  
Frontier in the Nineteenth Century.  
Bombay.

ELWIN, VERRIER : Democracy in NEFA. Shillong.

GRIERSON, G.A., 1966 : Linguistic Survey of  
India, Vol.3, Part-I, Delhi. Motilal  
Banarasidass (First Ed. 1908).

GIRIDHARA, P.P., 1979 : Angami Grammar. Mysore,  
CIIL.

HAIMENDOF, C. F., 1946a : Agriculture and Land  
Tenure Among the Apa Tani's. Man in India,  
Vol.26, pp.181-95.

HAIMENDOF, C.F., 1946b : Notes on Tribal Justice  
Among Apatani's. Man in India, Vol.26,  
Nos.3 and 4.

HAIMENDOF, C.F., 1947 : Ethnographic Notes on  
the Tribes of the Subansiri Region.  
Shillong, Assam Government Press.

HAIMENDOF, C.F., 1949 : Anthropology and Adminis-  
tration in the Tribal Areas of North-East  
Frontier. Eastern Anthropologist, Vol.3,  
pp.8-14.

HAIMENDOF, C.F., 1955 : Himalayan Barbary London.  
John Murray.

HAIMENDOF, C.F., 1962 : The Apa Tanis and Their  
Neighbours. New York, Routledge and Kegan  
Paul.

IZZARD, R., 1951 : The Hunt for the Buru.  
London.

MICHELL, JOHN F., 1883 : The North-East Frontier  
of India. Vivek Publishing House, New Delhi.

ROBINSON, W., 1851 : Notes on the Dophlas and  
the Peculiarities of Their Language. Journal  
of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol.20,  
pp.126-37.

SHUKLA, B.K., 1959 : The Daflas of the Subansiri  
Region. Shillong.

SIMON, I.M., 1973 : Introduction to Apatani.  
Shillong.

- - - -